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BY

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His son was meanwhile quietly pursuing his studies at school and unconsciously fitting himself for the battle of life that was before him. The boyhood of Robert Baldwin was remarkably free from incident. There is absolutely nothing to tell about this portion of his life, except that he attended the Home District Grammar School in "College Square," as it was called where he received all the education he ever acquired. This seat of learning was situated a short distance to the north-east of the present site of St. James's Cathedral, and was presided over by Dr.—afterwards Bishop—Strachan. We find Robert Baldwin's name in a class list of that institution published in 1816. Three years later (in 1819) we find that he was the "head boy," and that he delivered the "prologue" at a public examination held at the school on the 11th of August. The prologue bears internal evidence of having been composed by Dr. Strachan himself. Among other scholars who attended the school and took part in the exercises at this date we find several whose names have since become well known in Toronto and its neighbourhood. Glancing down the leaf at random, we read the names of Thomas Ridout, Wm. McMurray, Saltern, Givens, William Boulton, Richard Oates, Francis Howard, Abraham Nelles, James Baby, Allan Macaulay, and Warren Claus. The testimony of Robert Baldwin's school-fellows goes to show that he was even in those early days a rather shy, retiring youth, little adicted to boyish sports, and never known to take part in freaks of mischief. His thoughts seemed to come to him slowly, and his perceptive faculties were not very acute. His mind seems to have matured late. Dr. Strachan pronounced him the most diligent pupil in the establishment, and prophesied that if he ever made his mark in the world it would be rather by reason of his industry and close application than from the natural quickness of his parts. As is generally the case, the boy in this instance was father to the man. His industrious habits clung to him throughout his life, and his triumphs were won by means of persistent and untiring exertion, rather than by natural aptitude for public life. In this same year (1819) he entered upon the study of the law in his father's office, and was called to the Bar in Trinity Term, 1825. He immediately entered into partnership with his father, the style of the firm being "W. W. Baldwin & Son."

Meanwhile a great change had taken place in the pecuniar circumstances of Dr. Baldwin. He had, as we have already seen, been more than moderately successful in his professional

pursuits, and had steadily accumulated wealth. From another source, however, his means received an accession which made him probably the wealthiest professional man in Upper Canada. The Hon. Peter Russell, already referred to, was never married, and by consequence he left no direct heirs. Upon his death, in the year 1808, his large landed and other possessions devolved upon his maiden sister, Miss Elizabeth Russell. This lady survived until 1822. She was a distant connection of the Baldwins, and a very warm friendship had always subsisted between the two families. She resided with the Doctor's family—or, rather, the Doctor's family resided with her—during the last eight or nine years of her life. Upon her death she bequeathed all her possessions to Dr. Baldwin, who thus acquired a handsome fortune. He had in 1813, immediately after the American invasion of York, removed to Russell Abbey, on Front street, a mansion which had previously belonged to the Hon. Peter Russell, and which at this date belonged to his sister. After Miss Russell's death Dr. Baldwin began to entertain projects to which his mind had theretofore been a stranger. He designed to subject the large estate to a strict entail, and to found an opulent Canadian family. The Doctor, as we have seen, was a sincere and pronounced Liberal in his political views. He was a man of high principles, honestly desirous of promoting the welfare of his fellow-men ; but he was, nevertheless, strongly influenced by the notions of social caste which were all but universal among educated persons of British stock in those days. He purchased a block of land on the summit of the acclivity which rises to the northward of Toronto, a short distance beyond the city limits. Here, on one of the most imposing sites in the neighbourhood, he built a cosy-looking white house of comfortable proportions, which he intended to be merely the nucleus of a much more stately structure. He called his new estate "Spadina," which is an Italianized form of an Indian word signifying a pleasant hill. The greater part of the land intervening between the base of Spadina Hill and Queen-street—covering a distance of nearly two miles—had formerly belonged to the Russells, and was now the property of Dr. Baldwin. He laid out through this property a broad and stately highway a hundred and twenty feet in width, which has ever since been known as Spadina-avenue. He removed to his new home, and soon came to he known as "Baldwin of Spadina"—an honorary title which he hoped to transmit to his posterity in future ages. "There was to be for ever," says Dr.

Scadding, " a Baldwin of Spadina. It is singular that the first inheritor of the newly-established patrimony should have been the statesman whose lot it was to carry through the Legislature the abolition of the right of primogeniture. The son grasped more readily than the father what the genius of the North American continent will endure, and what it will not." Dr. Baldwin, however, did not live to see this measure carried through Parliament. He died on the 8th of January, 1844, and the Act abolishing primogeniture did not become law until 1851. As, in the course of this sketch, we shall not again have occasion to make any extended reference to Dr. Baldwin, we may here state that he subsequently entered Parliament as member for Norfolk, and did good service to the cause of Reform in Upper Canada. He continued to take an active part in politics down to a short time before his death in 1844. In 1843, only a few months before his death, he was called to a seat in the Legislative Council. He was devotedly loyal to the Crown, but spoke manfully for the rights of the people whenever those rights were invaded—and they were very often invaded in those days. It was from him that his son enherited those principles which wrought such important changes on our Constituion, and which have so effectually served the cause of free thought, free speech, and free deeds in our land. The reverence which all Canadians justly feel for the name of Robert Baldwin is also due in no slight degree to the father, who early instilled into his son's mind the " one idea " which is inseparably associated with his name.

Meanwhile the legal business continued to be carried on under the style of " W. W. Baldwin & Son," the son being the active member of the firm. The business was large and remunerative, and included the prosecution of some of the most important causes before the courts in those days. On the 31st of May, 1827, when Robert Baldwin had just completed his twenty-third year, he married his cousin, Miss Augusta Elizabeth Sullivan, a daughter of Mr. Daniel Sullivan, and a sister of Mr. Robert Baldwin Sullivan, a young lawyer who afterwards attained eminence in his profession, and was raised to the judicial bench. On the 1st of March, 1829, young Sullivan formed a legal partnership with the Baldwins, and the style of the firm became " Baldwin & Sullivan."

Robert Baldwin had already begun to take an active interest in political affairs. Liberal principles had legitimately descended to him from his father, but he was also a constitutional

Reformer from mature deliberation and conviction. It is impossible to estimate his character rightly, however, unless it is borne in mind that his views were very far removed from those of extreme Radicals. In some respects, indeed, he had many of the qualities of a Conservative. Change, considered merely as a change, was distasteful to him, and he was disposed to look favourably upon existing institutions until they were proved to be prejudicial to the public welfare. But he had already pondered seriously, and with a conscientious desire to arrive at a just opinion, as to the reciprocal obligations of the governing classes and the governed. His high sense of justice convinced him that there were many things in our colonial polity which it was the imperative duty of every well-wisher of the country to do his utmost to remove. He had made no secret of his views, and his high personal character, social position, and acknowledged abilities were such as to give those views additional weight. He had already proved himself a wise and prudent adviser on one or two election committees, and had come to be looked upon as "the coming man" of the Reform party. That party was then in its infancy in this Province, and may be said to have come into existence about the year 1820. It grew rapidly, and soon began to occasion uneasiness to the faction which swayed the destinies of the Province with so high a hand. It was not difficult for far-sighted men to perceive that momentus changes were imminent. The idea of a responsible Executive had already presented itself to the minds of the thoughtful, and the Baldwins, both father and son, had expressed strong opinions on the subject. The result of the general elections of 1824 was a Reform majority in the House of Assembly, and several important Government measures were defeated. The Legislative Council, however, was of course still in the hands of the oligarchy. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, began to entertain gloomy forebodings of disaster. "The long shadows of Canadian Radicalism," says a Canadian writer, "were already setting down on his administration, and the *Colonial Advocate*, controlled by William Lyon Mackenzie, sadly disturbed his prospects of dignified repose with pungent diatribes on packed juries and Government abuses. Even then the clouds were gathering for the storm of 1838." As yet, however, there was little in common between Mr. Mackenzie and the Baldwins except hatred of oppression and a desire to see the Government of the country in the hands of capable and disinterested men. Even Mackenzie at this time

entertained no thought of rebellion, and was a loyal subject to her Majesty. It is, of course, unnecessary to say that none of the Baldwins ever sympathized with or countenanced the rebellion at any time.

In 1828 there was a general election, and Robert Baldwin, in conjunction with Mr. James E. Small, afterwards Judge of the County Court of the County of Middlesex, offered himself as a candidate for the County of York. Both these gentlemen were defeated by their opponents, Messrs. Willian Lyon Mackenzie and Jesse Ketchum. In July of the following year, however, Mr. John Beverley Robinson, member for the Town of York and Attorney-General of the Province, was promoted to the dignity of Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench. Robert Baldwin once more presented himself as a candidate for legislative honours, this time as Mr. Robinson's successor in the representation of York. He was returned by a majority of forty-one votes. His opponent was the same Mr. Small who had been his coadjutor of the previous year. Mr. Mackenzie, who had opposed them both in 1828, threw all his personal and journalistic influence into the scale in favour of Mr. Baldwin, and probably contributed not a little to the result. At the close of the poll the votes stood 92 for Baldwin and 51 for Small. A petition, praying that the election might be declared void, was presented by Mr. Small, upon the ground that the writ had been irregularly issued. The petition was successful, for the irregularity was fatal, the writ having been issued by the Lieutenant-Governor instead of by the Speaker of the House. Mr. Baldwin was unseated, but immediately presented himself for re-election. This time be was opposed by Mr. William Botsford Jarvis, Sheriff of the County. Mr. Jarvis was defeated, and upon the opening of the session on the 8th of January, 1830, Robert Baldwin, then in his twenty-sixth year, for the first time took his seat in Parliament.

It was about this time that the scheme of Responsible Government may be said to have first taken something like definite shape in Upper Canada. This great project is inseparably associated with Robert Baldwin's name, though it is absurd to say, as has been said more than once, that he was the first to conceive the idea. There exists indisputable evidence that before Robert Baldwin had emerged from schoolboy life, both his father, Peter Perry, and other leading Reformers had laid down most of the general principles upon which Responsible Government is founded. It may be said,

indeed, that these principles were a necessary product of the political situation of affairs in Canada in those days, and that no particular individual can lay claim to having been their their sole originator. The scheme of Responsible Government in Canada simply contemplated the application to this country of the principles which underlie the Constitution of Great Britain. It claimed that the acts of the Executive should be approved of by a majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly, those who contended for it claimed nothing which was not clearly their right. They sought to engraft no foreign or radical change upon the Constitution. This was clearly understood a few years later, by Lord Durham, as witness the following extract from his celebrated Report:—"It needs no change in the principles of government, no invention of a new constitutional theory, to supply the remedy which would, in my opinion, completely remove the existing political disorders. It needs but to follow out consistently the principles of the British Constitution, and introduce into the government of these great colonies those wise provisions by which alone the working of the representative system can in any country be rendered harmonious and efficient. . . . But the Crown must, on the other hand, submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions, and if it has to carry on the government in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence. . . . This change might be effected by a single despatch containing such instructions, or, if any legal enactment were requisite, it would only be one that would render it necessary that the official acts of the Governor should be countersigned by some public functionary. This would induce responsibility for every act of the Government, and as a natural consequence it would necessitate the substitution of a system of administration by means of competent heads of departments for the present rude machinery of an executive council. . . . I admit that the system which I propose would in fact place the internal government of the colony in the hands of the colonists themselves, and that we should thus leave to them the execution of the laws of which we have long entrusted the making solely to them." This was precisely the stand taken by the advocates of Responsible Government. This, in a word, *was* Responsible Government, and it was principally with a view to bring about such a state of things that Robert Baldwin determined to enter

political life, in the autumn of 1829. A signal example of the necessity for Responsible Government had just occurred. In the autumn of the year 1827, John Walpole Willis, an English barrister, had been appointed to the position of a puisne judge in Upper Canada. Mr. Willis was a gentleman of spotless character, kind and amiable manners, and wide and various learning. He was beyond comparision the ablest jurist who, up to that time, had sat on the judicial bench in this Province. Having a high and proper idea of the dignity of the judicial character, he observed the strictest impartiality of conduct, both on the bench and elsewhere, and refused to ally himself with either of the political parties in the Province. This line of procedure, which in our days would be regarded as a matter of course in a man in such a position, was then an honourable distinction, for too many of Judge Willis's predecessors had been mere tools in the hands of the ruling faction. That faction, with Sir Petegrine Maitland, the Lieutenant-Governor, at its head, determined that Willis should either identify himself with them or lose his place. They were soon made to understand in the most unmistakeable manner that he was a judge, and not a mere self-seeking partisan. It was accordingly determined that he should be got rid of. In the month of June, 1829, a pretext offered itself for his dismissal. He refused to sit in term by himself, in the absence of Sir William Campbell, the Chief Justice (who was then in England), and of the other associate judge. Sir Peregrine promptly dismissed him, and appointed Mr. Christopher Hagerman to the vacant position. Judge Willis appealed to the Home authorities, who sustained him in his conduct, and dismissed the newly-appointed judge. It was not deemed advisable, however, to reinstate Mr. Willis in his Upper Canadian judgeship, as it was evident that he would be subjected to perpetual annoyance from the Executive, and that his usefulness would be seriously interfered with. He was appointed to a judicial position in another colony, where his honour and integrity were fully appreciated, and where he won golden opinions from all classes of the community. But he had none the less been dismissed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, and a large and influential class among the people of Upper Canada were righteously indignant. Robert Baldwin, himself a lawyer, with a high sense of the august character which ought to appertain to the judicial bench, felt, and spoke strongly on the subject. The leading members of the Reform

Party were unanimous in their condemnation of the Lieutenant-Govenor's arbitrary conduct. Public meetings were held, and strong language, though hardly stronger than the occasion called for, was the order of the day. Finally, an address, signed by nearly all the prominent Reformers in the Province, was presented to Judge Willis, in which the subscribers expressed their esteem for his character, and their high appreciation of his conduct as a judge. A petition, which is believed to have been drawn by Robert Baldwin himself, was also forwarded to the King. Whether entirely drawn up by Mr. Baldwin himself or not, there is no doubt that he had a share in its compilation, and that its contents wore fully in accord with his views, as, apart from his being one of the signatories, a copy of it, initialed and annotated by him, was found among his papers after his death. This petition is important, as showing that the constitutional changes of a later date had already been carefully considered and outlined by the Reformers of this Province. It sets out by humbly thanking His Majesty for having sent Mr. Willis among them in the capacity of a judge, and extols his virtues, both judicial and personal. It then represents that the country had been deprived of one of its greatest blessings in the arbitrary removal of a judge who, by the impartial discharge of his duties, had become endeared to the Canadian people. Then comes the following recital:—"It has long been the source of many grievances, and of their continuance, that the Legislative Council is formed not of an independent gentry, taken from the country at large, but of executive councillors and placemen, the great majority of whom are under the immediate, active, and undue influence of the person administering Your Majesty's Provincial Government, holding their offices at his mere will and pleasure. Hence arises, in a great measure, the practical irresponsibility of executive councillors and other official advisers of Your Majesty's representative, who have hitherto, with impunity, both disregarded the laws of the land and despised the opinions of the public."

In entering active political life for the first time, Mr. Baldwin enjoyed the advantage of having been carefully trained in sound liberal principles by his father. He had the further advantage of possessing the esteem and respect even of those most bitterly opposed to his views on political matters, and his wealth and social position exalted him far above the petty ambitions of meaner men. With the modesty becoming in a

young member, he spoke little during his first Parliamentary session, and as events turned out he had no future opportunity of addressing the House until after the lapse of some years, during which interval the political situation of the country had undergone many and important changes. By the death of George IV. a dissolution of Parliament took place, and a new election was ordered. Mr. Baldwin once more presented himself to the electors of the Town of York, and was again opposed by Mr. W. B. Jarvis, who was this time successful, and his opponent was left without a seat in the Assembly. That he was not free from a feeling of disappointment at this result is very probable, but it is certain that he was less so than were many of his supporters, for he had been irresistibly led to the conclusion that his presence in the House at that time would be of little service to the country. He clearly perceived that a Reform House of Assembly could make little headway in the direction of constitutional progress so long as that House was hampered by an irresponsible Executive. Many of the leaders of the Reform Party of that day, both in Upper and Lower Canada, contended for an elective Legislative Council, believing that such a reform would, to some extent at least, remedy the evils by which the country was beset. In the views of these persons Mr. Baldwin could not coincide. He maintained that the only effectual cure was to make the Executive, as in England, directly dependent upon the will of the people, and that until such a change should be brought about it was a matter of secondary importance whether the Legislative Councillors were elected by the people or not. To establish a Responsible Executive had now become the great object of his life, and he availed himself of every opportunity which presented itself of urging his views. All the members of his party were agreed as to the desirability of bringing about such a state of things, but many of them despaired of being able to accomplish it, and regarded the project as practically unattainable. Others thought that Mr. Baldwin attached too much importance to it, and were wont to speak of him as "the man of one idea." The history of the next few years affords the best refutation to such opinions. Upon the successful carrying out of this "one idea" depended the liberties of the Canadian people, and Mr. Baldwin continued to strive for the desired end until it became an accomplished fact. Meanwhile he accepted his defeat with the best grace he could. He retired to private life, and although he still continued largely to direct the policy of

the Reform Party in the Upper Province he devoted most of his time to the practice of his profession.

On the 11th of January, 1836, he sustained a serious loss in the death of his wife. He was a man of domestic habits, devotedly attached to his family, and felt the blow very keenly. Only a few weeks after sustaining this bereavement he was for a short time called upon to act as a constitutional adviser to Sir Francis Bond Head. The extraordinary circumstances under which Sir Francis became Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and the disastrous consequences of his administration, will be fully detailed in the sketch of his life to be included in this series. It must be admitted that his position was one of much difficulty, and would have tried the powers of a much abler and wiser man. The new Governor was soon engaged in bickerings with some of the members of the House on important constitutional questions. His predecessor, Sir John Colborne, had recommended Robert Baldwin to the Home Office as a proper person to be called to a seat in the Legislative Council. Such a step was certain to be favourably regarded by a majority in the Assembly, and Sir Francis, acting probably under instructions from Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, sent for Mr. Baldwin, sought his advice, and finally requested him to become one of the Executive. There were then three vacancies in that body, three of the old members having recently been dismissed. The vacancies were offered respectively to Robert Baldwin, John Rolph, and John Henry Dunn, all of whom stood high in the confidence of the Reform Party.

Sir Francis was especially desirous that Mr. Baldwin should accept office, not merely because the latter was a man of good judgment who knew the country's needs, but because his character and social position were such that his name would in itself lend great weight to any administration. This is sufficiently proved by the tenor of Sir Francis's own despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated February 22nd, 1836, the full text of which is to be found in the fourth chapter of his extraordinary "Narrative." "After making every enquiry in my power," says Sir Francis, "I became of opinion that Robert Baldwin, advocate, a gentleman already recommended to your Lordship by Sir John Colborne for a seat in the Legislative Council, was the first individual I should select, being highly respected for his moral character, moderate in his politics, and possessing the esteem and confidence of all parties." It is to be borne in mind, too, that the Governor's estimate of Mr. Baldwin's char-

acter and position before the country had been formed from the reports of his bitterest political opponents. Sir Francis himself had only been a few weeks in the country, and had had but slight opportunities for forming an independent personal estimate. The fact that Mr. Baldwin's opponents should have given such a report of him affords incontrovertible proof of two things: first, that even the bitter animosities of the times had not extinguished all sense of truth and justice; and second, that Robert Baldwin, notwithstanding his pronounced opinions, was esteemed and respected as no other man in Canadian political life has ever been, either before his time or since.

While in conference with Mr. Baldwin the Governor learned that according to that gentleman's interpretation of the Constitutional Act of 1791 the Council was already legally responsible to the people. Sir Francis himself had probably never considered the matter, and did not commit himself to a positive opinion. He, however, made use of several expressions from which Mr. Baldwin not unreasonably inferred that there was no great difference of opinion between them on the point, and that the Government would thenceforth be conducted on that assumption. An important discussion also took place between them as to the position of a Lieutenant-Governor in the colony, and as to the true relation existing between him, his constitutional advisers, and the Parliament. On these matters Sir Francis was disposed to retain his own opinions, and yielded little to the reasoning of his interlocutor. The final result of the discussion was that Sir Francis made some concessions, and that Mr. Baldwin agreed to enter, and did actually enter, the Administration, as did also Dr. Rolph and Mr. Dunn. They had not held office many days ere they discovered that they were in a false position. They found that the Governor had merely prevailed upon them to accept office in order to strengthen his Government, and to set himself in a favourable light before the country. He had no intention of permitting them to have any voice in the real administration of public affairs. Without consulting them, he appointed several members of the Family Compact to office. The members of the Council found that they were kept in total ignorance of the Government's policy, and that their functions were restricted to insignificant matters of detail. Much to the general surprise, this line of conduct on the part of the Governor was opposed by the old members of the Council, as well as by the three gentlemen who had recently entered it. They repeat-

edly remonstrated against this course of procedure, but their remonstrances were quietly ignored. There was, consequently, but one course open to them—to resign office. This course they accordingly adopted on the 4th of March, when Mr. Baldwin and his two colleagues had held office about three weeks. More obsequious councillors were soon found to fill their places, in the persons of Robert Baldwin Sullivan, Augustus Baldwin, John Glensley, and William Allan. Robert Baldwin, mortified and disgusted with Sir Francis's double-dealing, shook the dust of the Council Chamber from his feet, and once more retired to private life. The House of Assembly passed a vote of want of confidence, and stopped the supplies. Then followed the dissolution of Parliament, a new general election, and a new House of Assembly packed by the Governor to support the old Family Compact policy. The next thing that followed, as every one knows, was the Rebellion of 1837–8.

Within a few weeks after resigning office, Mr. Baldwin, despairing of being able to effect anything for the public good, and still suffering from grief from the loss of his wife, determined to pay a visit to the home of his ancestors, in Ireland, and to spend a season abroad. He was absent nearly a year, the greater part of which was spent in London and in the neighbourhood of Cork. During his stay in London he received intelligence of the success of the Tories at the recent elections in Upper Canada. Knowing, as he did, by what corrupt means that success had been achieved, he deemed it his duty to acquaint the Colonial Office with the inevitable result which would follow the Governor's machinations. Tory influence was predominant there, and he was not admitted to an interview with Lord Glenelg, but his views, elaborated into a series of papers, were placed before the Secretary, by whom they were submitted to the Imperial Cabinet. In these papers the project of Responsible Government was strongly urged as the only effectual remedy for the troubles in Canada. It was also urged that the policy which had theretofore been pursued by successive Lieutenant-Governors was steadily alienating the affections of the Canadian people from the Mother Country. These views, temperately but firmly expressed, were not without effect at the Home Office. Upon Mr. Baldwin's return to his native land he found that matters had not stood still during his absence, and that the Governor's policy had produced its legitimate fruit. The word "rebellion" was now frequently in the mouths of men who had always been regarded as loyal sub-

jects. The Governor, as though bent upon precipitating matters, was more despotic than ever, and was engaged with daily squabbles with the Assembly. Mr. Baldwin, to whom even the tyranny of Sir Francis Head was preferable to actual rebellion, kept aloof from the extreme sections of both parties, and continued quietly to perform his duties as a citizen. He had lived with his father ever since his marriage. Doctor Baldwin, finding that Spadina at certain seasons of the year was an inconvenient place of abode, and that it would be advisable for him to have a town residence, had erected a building on the corner of King and Yonge streets, in what is now the commercial heart of the city. This building stood almost intact until about two years ago, when it was pulled down to make way for the magnificent new structure of the Dominion Bank. The family had removed thither during the autumn of 1831, and had resided there nearly four years. Dr. Baldwin, who was fond of building operations, had meanwhile erected a fine brick mansion on the site of the small house occupied by him many years before on the corner of Bay and Front streets. This mansion is the one now used for the offices of the Toronto, Grey & Bruce Railway Company. In 1835 the family removed hither from the corner of Yonge and King streets, and it was here that Mrs. Robert Baldwin breathed her last. The family continued to reside here until the proximity of railways and other causes combined to make it an undesirable place of abode, when they removed back to Spadina.

Early in December the rebellion became a reality. William Lyon Mackenzie and his adherents encamped themselves on the northern outskirts of Toronto, and threatened to advance upon the city. Sir Francis, old soldier though he was, was panic-stricken. He knew the destestation in which he was held by those who were in arms against his government, and deemed it probable that if he were captured by the rebels his life would be sacrified. Meanwhile the militia were pouring into the capital from all quarters, and the forces at the Governor's command would soon be sufficiently numerous to enable him to laugh at the insurrection. It was manifestly important to gain time, as additions to the militia were coming in hour by hour. In this extremity Sir Francis had recourse to Robert Baldwin. The Sheriff was despatched in hot haste to the house, on the corner of Bay and Front Streets, and on the Governor's behalf he begged Mr. Baldwin to be the bearer of a flag of truce to the insurgents. "Demand from them," urged

Sir Francis, "why they appear in arms in hostility to their lawful Governor, and call on them in my name to avoid the effusion of human blood." The Sheriff and his orderly seem to have been kept tolerably busy for some time, carrying messages to and fro between Mr. Baldwin and the Governor. Mr. Baldwin did not feel justified in declining a request urged under such circumstances, but stipulated that some other trustworthy person should accompany him. The errand on which he was about to be despatched was an important one. Negotiations might perhaps be proposed by the insurgent chief, and it was highly desirable that the majesty of Upper Canada should be represented by more than one man. To this view Sir Francis acceded, and asked Mr. Baldwin to choose his coadjutor. Mr. Baldwin at once mentioned Marshall Spring Bidwell, in whose integerity and prudence he had entire confidence. An orderly was accordingly despatched for Mr. Bidwell, who was asked to join his friend Mr. Baldwin in the expedition. Mr. Bidwell had no heart for such an undertaking. He had no sympathy with the insurrection, which he moreover knew must prove utterly futile. He was essentially a man of peace, and did not believe in righting wrongs by the strong hand. While sympathizing deeply with the grievances to which the people of Upper Canada were subjected, he was in favour of redressing these grievances by constitutional means, and not by open rebellion. He begged to be excused from undertaking the mission. He suggested that Dr. Rolph would be a very suitable messenger, and that he would probably undertake the mission without reluctance. Mr. Baldwin could assign no valid objection to Dr. Rolph, who was accordingly sent for. He accepted the mission with alacrity, and he and Mr. Baldwin set out on horseback for Gallows Hill. Upon their arrival they explained their errand to Mr. Mackenzie, who asked to see their authority. Mr. Baldwin was compelled to reply that his authority was oral. "Then," said Mr. Mackenzie, "Go back to Sir Francis Head, and tell him that we want independence, and nothing but independence; and he must give us his answer in writing within an hour." The rest of this episode is not a pleasant one to tell, but it has already appeared in print, and our narrative would be incomplete without it. Dr. Rolph rode up to two of the insurgents, and said something to them in so low a voice that Mr. Baldwin could not hear it. The latter did not approve of this secret conference, and rode back to town alone. He delivered Mr. Mackenzie's message to the Sheriff, by whom it

was conveyed to the Governor. By this time Sir Francis felt safe, and refused to ratify his embassy. Mr. Baldwin was therefore compelled to return to Mr. Mackenzie with an admission that the Governor had declined to furnish any written authority. This transaction is not the least scandalous of Sir Francis Head's achievements. By refusing to accredit his ambassador he placed Mr. Baldwin in an equivocal light before the country, and furnished the political enemies of the latter with a pretext for repeated insults. Everybody knows the rest of the story. Next day Dr. Rolph lost no time in making the best of his way across the Niagara River, where he admitted his complicity with the rebellion. Both Mr. Mackenzie and the unhappy men who suffered on the gallows for their share in that day's work gave the same account of the message delivered by Dr. Rolph to the insurgents, which, as they declared, enjoined the latter to wait until nightfall, and then not to lose a moment in advancing on the city, as the Governor was only pretending to negotiate in order to gain time. Assuming this message to have been really delivered by Dr. Rolph, it must be admitted that it places him in an unenviable light, for in that case he was guilty not merely of treason to his country, but of treachery to his friend. Mr. Baldwin never forgave him, and was never again on speaking terms with him.

The rebellion was, for a time, a serious blow to the Reform Party in Upper Canada. The ruling faction and their adherents saw their opportunity, and used it without stint. A cry of disloyality was raised, and everything was done to create a false idea in the public mind as to what really constitutes Reform principles. Disloyalty and rebellion were represented as the inevitable outcome of the principles of Upper Canadian Reformers. Every man who professed Liberal opinions was declared to be a rebel. Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Bidwell were placed in the same category as Mackenzie and Rolph. Those who were instrumental in promulgating this doctrine were morally guilty of a great crime, for none knew better than they that the leading spirits among the Reformers of Upper Canada were patriots, in the truest and best sense of that word. For some time Mr. Baldwin treated these calumnies with silent contempt. By some, his silence was construed into inability to defend himself, and more than four years afterwards one gentleman—the late Sir Allan MacNabb—presumed so far upon Mr. Baldwin's forbearance as to taunt him in a speech delivered several years afterwards in the House of Assembly. This was

on the 13th of October, 1842. Mr. Baldwin rose tohis feet and replied to the member for Hamilton in words which, so far as he was concerned, effectually silenced all further insinuations of disloyalty. He detailed the circumstances under which he had been induced to ride out with the flag of truce, and how the Governor had not had sufficient magnamimity to avow his own act. When the speaker resumed his seat the House resounded with cheers, and Sir Allan MacNabb subsequently apologized for his language.

THE HON. ROBERT BALDWIN.

(Continued from Volume I.)

The unmerited reproach which had been brought upon the Reform Party was not the only disadvantage under which it laboured at this period. Not only was it subjected to public obloquy, and to the bitter taunts of its foes, but it contained discordant and irreconcilable elements within itself. It was for a time threatened with utter ruin. During the progress of the year 1838, Robert Baldwin set himself dilligently to work to reconcile such discordant elements as were capable of assimilation, and to reconstruct the party on a consistent and definite basis of constitutional reform. The watchword of the reconstructed party was "Responsible Government." In May of the same year Lord Durham arrived in Canada, in the double capacity of Governor-General and of Her Majesty's Commissioner for the purpose of enquiring into and reporting upon our political institutions. After spending nearly six months in the country he returned home and compiled his elaborate report, in which he recommended the establishment of Responsible Government and the legislative union of the two Provinces. The subsequent history of these recommendations belongs more appropriately to the life of Lord Durham than to that of Robert Baldwin. At present it will be sufficient to record the fact that most of Lord Durham's recommendations with reference to Canadian affairs were adopted by the Home Government, and that during the session of 1839 a Bill providing for the union of Upper and Lower Canada, was introduced into the Imperial Parliament. It was found, however, when the details of the measure came up for discussion in the Commons, that the House had not sufficient facts before them to enable them to deal with it satisfactorily. It became necessary to shelve the matter until the following session, and to send out to Canada some capable man to obtain the required information. The man fixed upon for this mission was Mr. Charles Poulett Thomson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, who

held the post of President of the Imperial Board of Trade. Mr. Thomson accordingly came over to this country as Governor-General, armed with the same full powers which had previously been conferred upon Lord Durham. How he discharged his difficult task will be related at length in the sketch particularly devoted to his life. It may meanwhile be remarked that in the Upper Province the bulk of the Tories arrayed themselves in hostility to the policy of the Home Government. In their organ, the Toronto *Patriot*, they denounced Lord Durham and his Report in unmeasured terms. The new Governor-General also came in for a full share of censure. That gentleman soon discovered that the Legislature of the Upper Province would not easily be prevailed upon to consent to the proposed measures. The difficulty arose from the opposition of the Legislative Council. He put forth a message, in which he appealed strongly to the loyalty of the House, and urged the necessity of their co-operation. He also published a despatch from Lord John Russell, in which a similar appeal was embodied. The Family Compact, members whereof composed a large majority in the Council, saw that their reign, which long had been insecure, would cease at once and forever upon the advent of Responsible Government. The Governor, however, had appealed to their loyalty, and ever since the Rebellion they had been proclaimin their devotion to the Crown in fulsome terms which left them no choice but to comply with what was asked of them, or else to admit that they had been preaching doctrines which they were not disposed to practice. The proposed measures, moreover, originated with the Government, and the members of the Council were thus compelled either to support them or resign their places. By adopting the former course they would at least postpone the evil day. They accordingly supported the Government. The Assembly had all along approved of the proposed changes, and resolutions were passed in accordance with the policy outlined in the Governor's message. A Union Bill was framed and transmitted to England, where with some slight modifications, it soon received the assent of both Houses. On the 23rd of July, 1840, it received the Royal sanction. A clause in the Bill provided that it should come into operation, by royal proclamation. A protracted session of the special council in the Lower Province delayed the issue of the proclamation, and the Act of Union did not take effect until the 10th of February, 1841.

Robert Baldwin had meanwhile remained in the retirement

of private life. A time had arrived, however, when he was once more to take an active part in the politics of his country. At the urgent request of the Governor-General, and upon the assumption that Government was to be carried on in accordance with the principles for which he had all along contended, he accepted the office of Solicitor-General, as successor to Mr.—afterwards Chief-Justice—Draper, who had been appointed Attorney-General in place of Mr. Hagerman. Mr. Baldwin's acceptance of office did more than anything else could have done to strengthen the hands of the Governor, and to gain confidence for the Administration. This office he subsequently resigned under circumstances which occasioned not a little embarrassment to the Governor ; and as he has been censured for this step, it is very desirable that we should clearly understand the motives by which he was actuated. We are fortunately able to arrive at such an understanding. Shortly after his appointment to office, in the month of February, 1840, being determined that there should be no misapprehension as to his actions, he wrote and published a letter in which occur the following words :—" In accepting office I consider myself to have given a public pledge that I have a reasonably well-grounded confidence that the Government of my country is to be carried on in accordance with the principles of Responsible Government which I have ever held. It is therefore right that it should be distinctly understood that I have not come into office by means of any coalition with the Attorney-General, or with any others now in the public service, but have done so under the Governor-General, and expressly from my confidence in him."

So far all is clear enough. A year later—that is to say, on the 13th of February, 1841—the Governor, having determined to constitute the principal officers of Government the Executive Council, wrote to Mr. Baldwin as follows:

" I am called upon to name an Executive Council for this Province without delay, which at present will be composed exclusively of the chief officers of the Government, and I have therefore included your name in the list."

Now, the members of the Cabinet, with three exceptions, were persons with whom Mr. Baldwin had never acted, and with whom he had very little political affinity. He, moreover, had good reason for believing that a Cabinet so composed would not find favour when the House should meet. He was desirous to make the Union a success, and was loth to embarrass the Governor at such a time by refusing to accede to his request,

but he again resolved that there should be no misunderstanding as to his position. He accordingly, on the 19th of the month, replied to Lord Sydenham's letter as follows:

"With respect to those gentlemen," (referring to the members of the Council), "Mr. Baldwin has himself an entire want of political confidence in all of them except Mr. Dunn, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Daly. . . He deems it a duty which he owes to the Governor-General at once to communicate his opinion that such arrangement of the Administration will not command the support of Parliament."

By writing a letter couched in such language, Mr. Baldwin must certainly have meant to reserve to himself perfect freedom of action. He believed that the proper time for action would be when he was in possession of the facts as to the political situation, and this he could not possibly be until the assembling of Parliament. Here again, however, his perfect good faith towards all men was signally displayed. It would manifestly be disingenuous were he to accept a seat in the Council without acquainting his colleagues with his opinions. To Lord Sydenham he had, as we have seen, been sufficiently explicit already. He now wrote to each individual member, with the exception of the three gentlemen already named, acquainting them straightforwardly of his utter want of confidence in them politically.

The course pursued by him in this often-debated matter was thoroughly consistent throughout.

When the members of the Parliament of the United Provinces met at Kingston, on the 13th of June, 1841, and previous to the opening of the session, Mr. Baldwin called together a meeting of the Liberal members from both sections. The summoning of such a meeting was a political necessity, for many of the members from the different Provinces were totally unacquainted with each other, and were very imperfectly acquainted with each other's views on the questions of the day. One of Mr. Baldwin's principal objects was to ascertain how far the Government possessed the confidence of the Liberal Party of the United Provinces. It was soon apparent that very few of the members felt any confidence whatever in the Government as a whole, although even the members from the Lower Province were almost unanimous in expressing confidence in Mr. Baldwin himself. Here again his course seemed perfectly clear. He must cease to hold office in a Government which had not the confidence of the people. Either there must

be a reconstruction of the Cabinet or he must resign. He proposed the former alternative to Lord Sydenham, but his proposal was rejected. Accordingly, on the day when the session opened, he resigned his office. There can be no doubt that this was an embarrassing state of affairs for the Governor, but Mr. Baldwin was compelled to choose between two evils, and he chose what seemed to him to be the less. It was better that the Governor should be embarrassed than that a high-minded statesman should prove false to his convictions. He was assailed with coarse vituperation in the House for his resignation. He replied in moderate, but forcible language, explaining his position at considerable length. His opponents were not accessible to argument, but outside the House his conduct met with the full approbation of his constituents, and of the Reform Party generally. At the next elections, as if to show how fully his course was approved of, he was returned for two constituencies—the County of Hastings and the North Riding of York. He chose to sit for the former, and recommended his friend Mr. Lafontaine to North York. The latter was triumphantly returned for that riding. All his former colleagues retaining their places, Mr. Baldwin found himself in Opposition. He took part in several warm debates during the session, and moved some important amendments to the Municipal Bill, which was the most hotly-contested measure before the House, and which, after repeated divisions, was *finally* passed. He also strenuously advocated a policy of conciliation towards the Lower Canadians. Early in September he moved and passed a series of resolutions in support of his "one idea" of Responsible Government. Almost immediately afterwards Lord Sydenham's death took place, and the session was brought to a close.

Sir Charles Bagot having succeeded Lord Sydenham as Governor-General, entered upon his duties early in January, 1842. He wisely resolved not to directly identify himself with either of the political parties in the country, but to carry on the Government in accordance with the popular will. After spending a few months in making himself acquainted with the condidition of affairs, he discovered that no ministry could expect to command the public sympathy unless it favoured responsible government. The existing Ministry was evidently doomed as it stood, and needed reconstruction. Soon after the opening of the following session the new Governor accordingly made overtures to Robert Baldwin and Mr. Lafontaine, and a Government,

with them at its head, was soon formed, several of the old members, including Sir Francis Hincks, retaining their seats. The new members returned to their constituents for re-election and found themselves warmly supported. Thus was formed the Hincks-Baldwin Administration, as it was called in Upper Canada, in which Mr. Hincks held office as Inspector-General and Robert Baldwin as Attorney-General, West. It came into existence on the 16th of September, 1842, when this, the first Responsible Ministry under the Union was sworn in, and Mr. Baldwin's "one idea" was realized. The ensuing session was a short but industrious one, and was signalized by the passing of several important measures, one of which was an Act authorizing the raising of a large loan for public works. The House was prorogued on the 22d of October, and almost immediately afterwards the state of the Governor's health compelled his resignation.

Then followed the memorable contest with Sir Charles Metcalfe. Upon Sir Charles Bagot's death a good deal of anxiety was felt in Canada as to who would be his successor. The late Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby—father of the present representative of the title—was at this time Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Imperial Government. This nobleman disapproved of the recent changes in the Constitution of this country, and was vehemently opposed to the system of Responsible Government which had been introduced here. His selection of Sir Charles Metcalfe (afterwards Lord Metcalfe) as Bagot's successor, and his subsequent instructions to that gentleman, lead to the conclusion that he had resolved upon the overthrow of our newly-acquired constitutional system. Sir Charles Metcalfe was a man of ability, who had spent a great part of his life in the service of the East India Company. He had had some experience in administering the despotic government of Indian Provinces, but had no knowledge of Parliamentary Government, and was about as unfit a man as could have been sent out to fill such a position as that of Governor-General of Canada. He remained here nearly three years, during which he, with the best intentions, contrived to bring the country to the verge of ruin. The training and experience of a lifetime had totally unfitted him for constitutional rule. Responsible Government in a colony where Party Government prevailed was to him an anomaly, and he could never be brought to understand it. He saw, however, that it had a firm hold upon the popular sympathies, and without meaning to be absolutely

dishonest he was guilty of some dissimulation. While professing to approve of Responsible Government he was constantly shewing his hostility to it, he had no sympathies in common with its advocates, and chose his associates and advisers from among the members of the defunct Compact. He endeavoured to exalt his own office by circumscribing the power of the Cabinet. He was wont to sneer at the pretensions of his Ministers, and in one of his letters he compares his position to that of an Indian Governor compelled to rule by means of a Mahommedan Ministry and a Mahommedan Parliament. It will readily be believed that there could be little unanimity of sentiment between such a man and Robert Baldwin. Their natures were thoroughly antagonistic, and this began to be apparent ere the new Governor-General had been many weeks in the country. They had several warm discussions as to the right of patronage. Mr. Baldwin, on behalf of himself and his colleagues, urged—what one would have thought must be sufficiently obvious in a country boasting of Responsible Government—that public appointments should be made in accordance with the will of the people. Sir Charles utterly scouted such a doctrine. He claimed that, as the representative of the Crown, the right of patronage was vested in himself alone. He was defective in perception, and surrendering himself to evil counsellers, formed most erroneous ideas as to the character and aims of the members of the Government. How erroneous those ideas were is sufficiently apparent from the language of his biographer Mr.—afterwards Sir John William—Kaye. The latter gentleman never was in Canada, and knew nothing of Mr. Baldwin except what he gathered from the papers of Lord Metcalfe. His estimate of Mr. Baldwin may therefore fairly be taken to have been that of Lord Metcalfe himself. People who are well-informed as to his life and character may well open their eyes when they read that Robert Baldwin was "the son of a gentleman of Toronto, of American descent, who had formerly been a member of what was called the 'Family Compact;'"—that "the elder Baldwin had quarrelled with his party, and with the characteristic bitterness of a renegade had brought up his son in extremest hatred of his old associates;"—that "the son grew up to be an enthusiast—almost a fanatic;"—that "he was to the last degree uncompromising and intolerant;"—that "he seemed to delight in strife;"—that "the might of mildness he laughed to scorn;"—that "he was not satisfied with a victory unless it was gained by violence;"

—that "concessions were valueless to him unless he wrenched them with a strong hand from his opponent;"—that being "of an unbounded arrogance and self-conceit, he made no allowances for others, and sought none for himself;"—that "there was a sort of sublime egotism about him—a magnificent self-esteem, which caused him to look upon himself as a patriot whilst he was serving his own ends by the promotion of his ambition, the gratification of his vanity or his spite." Those of us "to the manner born" do not need to be informed that the proportion of truth to error in the foregoing extract is even less than the proportion of bread to sack in Falstaff's tavern-score. It is difficult, indeed, to understand how any one could have read the character of Robert Baldwin so utterly awry. The above passages are quoted from the early edition of Kaye's "Life of Charles Lord Metcalfe." In the late edition he modifies a few of the details, but the general portraiture of the man remains unchanged. All the assertions are so far the reverse of fact that it is hard to believe them to have been honestly made. The "gentleman of American descent" was Dr. Baldwin, who, as has already been seen, was an Irishman, and a native of the County of Cork. His journey from Ireland to Canada was made by way of Quebec, and he probably never spent ten consecutive days in the United States, with the republican institutions whereof he had little sympathy. So far from his ever having been a member of the Family Compact, he had always been a pronounced liberal, whose character and political opinions were so well known from the time of his first settlement in this country that it was deemed hopeless to attempt to allure him to the side of the oligarchy. Even Sir Francis Bond Head refers to him as "more ultra in his theory of reform than his son." The delineation of the son's character and principles is equally at variance with fact. It is not going too far to say that no man occupying an equally pronounced position in the arena of political life was ever less swayed by animosity or spite than Robert Baldwin. Sir Francis Hinks, a thoroughly competent and trustworthy authority, in his pamphlet on "The Political History of Canada between 1840 and 1855," published at Montreal several years ago, says, in speaking of the Baldwins:—"Neither the Doctor nor his son entertained bitter feelings against their opponents, and although firm in their adherence to cherished political opinions, they were both highly and universally respected." Sir Francis Head's early impressions of the son were chiefly derived from

colonial side, and were compelled to unite vigorously for purposes of self-defence. They organized a militia, and drilled their troops to something like military efficiency; but not long afterwards these troops were compelled to abandon the valley, and to join the colonial army of regulars under General Washington. On the 3rd of July, 1778, a force made up of four hundred British troops and about seven hundred Seneca Indians, under the command of Col. John Butler, entered the valley from the north-west. Such of the militia as the exigencies of the American Government had left to the people of Wyoming arrayed themselves for defence, together with a small company of American regular troops that had recently arrived in the valley, under the command of Colonel Zebulon Butler. The settlers were defeated and driven out of the valley. In spite of all efforts on the part of the British to restrain them, the Indian troops massacred a good many of the fugitives, and the valley was left a smoking ruin. But the massacre was not nearly so great as took place on several other occasions during the revolutionary war, and the burning was an ordinary incident of primitive warfare. Such, in brief, is the true history of the massacre in the Wyoming valley, over which the genius of Thomas Campbell has cast a spell that will never pass away while the English language endures. For that massacre Brant was no more responsible, nor had he any further participation in it, than George Washington. He was not within fifty (and probably not within a hundred) miles of the valley. Had he been present his great influence would have been put forward, as it always was on similar occasions, to check the ferocity of the Indians. But it is doubtful whether even he could have prevented the massacre.

Another place with which the name of Brant is inseparably associated is Cherry Valley. He has been held responsible for all the atrocities committed there, and even the atrocities themselves have been grossly exaggerated. There is some *show* of justice in this, inasmuch as Brant was undoubtedly present when the descent was made upon the valley. But it is not true that he either prompted the massacre or took any part in it. On the other hand, he did everything in his power to restrain it, and wherever it was possible for him to interfere successfully to prevent bloodshed he did so. Candour compels us to admit that his conduct on that terrible November day stands out in bright contrast to that of Butler, the white officer in command. Brant did his utmost to prevent the shed-

ding of innocent blood; but, even had he been in command of the expedition, which he was not, Indians are totally unmanageable on the field of battle. There is at least evidence that he did his best to save life. Entering one of the houses, while the massacre was raging, he found there a woman quietly engaged in sewing. "Why do you not fly, or hide yourself?" he asked; "do you not know that the Indians are murdering all your neighbours, and will soon be here?" "I am not afraid," was the reply: "I am a loyal subject of King George, and there is one Joseph Brant with the Indians who will save me." "I am Joseph Brant," responded the Chief, "but I am not in command, and I am not sure that I *can* save you, but I will do my best." At this moment the Indians were seen approaching. "Get into bed, quick," said Brant. The woman obeyed, and when the Indians reached the threshold he told them to let the woman alone, as she was ill. They departed, and he then painted his mark upon the woman and her children, which was the best assurance of safety he could give them. This was merely one of several similar acts of Brant upon that fatal day; acts which do not rest upon mere tradition, but upon evidence as strong as human testimony can make it.

It would not be edifying to follow the great Chief through the various campaigns—including those of Minisink and Mohawk Valley—in which he was engaged until the Treaty of 1782 put an end to the sanguinary war. In that Treaty, which restored peace between Great Britain and the United States, the former neglected to make any stipulation on behalf of her Indian allies. Not only was this the case; not only was Thayendanegea not so much as named in the Treaty; but the ancient country of the Six Nations, "the residence of their ancestors from the time far beyond their earliest traditions," was actually included in the territory ceded to the United States. This was a direct violation of Sir Guy Carleton's pledge, given when the Mohawks first abandoned their native valley to do battle on behalf of Great Britain, and subsequently ratified by General Haldimand, to the effect that as soon as the war should be at an end the Mohawks should be restored, at the expense of the Government, to the condition in which they were at the beginning of the war. No sooner were the terms of the Treaty made known than Brant repaired to Quebec, to claim from General Haldimand the fulfilment of his pledge. General Haldimand received his distinguished guest cordially, and professed himself ready to redeem his promise. It was of

course impossible to fulfil it literally, as the Mohawk valley had passed beyond British control; but the Chief expressed his willingness to accept in lieu of his former domain a tract of land on the Bay of Quinté. The General agreed that this tract should at once be conveyed to the Mohawks. The arrangement, however, was not satisfactory to the Senecas, who had settled in the Genesee Valley, in the State of New York. The Senecas were apprehensive of further trouble with the United States, and were anxious that the Mohawks should settle in their own neighbourhood, to assist them in the event of another war. They offered the Mohawks a large tract of their own territory, but the Mohawks were determined to live only under British rule. Accordingly, it was finally arranged that the latter should have assigned to them a tract of land on the Grand River (then called the Ouse) comprehending six miles on each side of the stream, from the mouth to the source. This tract, which contains some of the most fertile land in the Province, was formally conveyed to them by an instrument under Governor Haldimand's hand and seal, in which it was stipulated that they should "possess and enjoy" it forever. The Indians, unversed in technicalities, supposed that they now had an absolute and indefeasible estate in the lands. Of course they were mistaken. Governor Haldimand's conveyance did not pass the fee, which could only be effected by a crown patent under the Great Seal.

These several negotiations occupied some time. Towards the close of the year 1785, Brant, feeling aggrieved at the non-payment of certain pecuniary losses sustained by the Mohawks during the war, again set sail for England, where in due course he arrived. As on the occasion of his former visit, he was received with the utmost consideration and respect, not by the nobility and gentry alone, but by royalty itself. He seems to have lived upon terms of equality with the best society of the British capital, and to have so borne himself as to do no discredit to his entertainers. The Baroness Riedesel, who had formerly met him at Quebec, had an opportunity of renewing acquaintance with him, and has left on record the impression which he produced upon her. She writes: "His manners are polished. He expresses himself with great fluency, and was much esteemed by General Haldimand. His countenance is manly and intelligent, and his disposition very mild."

During this visit a dramatic episode occurred which occupies

a conspicuous place in all books devoted to Brant's life. The present writer has told the story elsewhere as follows:—One gusty night in the month of January, 1786, the interior of a certain fashionable mansion in the West End of London pretented a spectacle of amazing gorgeousness and splendour. The occasion was a masquerade given by one of the greatest of the city magnates; and as the entertainment was participated in by several of the nobility, and by others in whose veins ran some of the best blood in England, no expense had been spared to make the surroundings worthy of the exalted rank of the guests. Many of the dresses were of a richness not often seen, even in the abodes of wealth and fashion. The apartments were brilliantly lighted, and the lamps shone upon as quaint and picturesque an assemblage as ever congregated in Mayfair. There were gathered together representatives of every age and clime, each dressed in the garb suited to the character meant to be personified. Here, a magnificently-attired Egyptian princess of the time of the Pharaohs languished upon the arm of an English cavalier of the Restoration. There, high-ruffed ladies of Queen Elizabeth's court conversed with mail-clad Norman warriors of the time of the Conqueror. A dark-eyed Jewess who might have figured at the court of King Solomon jested and laughed with a beau of Queen Anne's day. If the maiden blushed at some of the broad jokes of her companion, her blushes were hidden by the silken mask which, in common with the rest of the guests, she wore upon the upper part of her face, and which concealed all but the brilliancy of her eyes. Cheek by jowl with a haughty Spanish hidalgo stood a plaided Highlander, with his dirk and claymore. Athenian orators, Roman tribunes, Knights of the Round Table, Scandinavian Vikings and Peruvian Incas jostled one another against the rich velvet and tapestry which hung from ceiling to floor. Truly, a motley assemblage, and one well calculated to impress the beholder with the transitoriness of mortal fame. In this miscellaneous concourse the occupants of the picture frames of all the public and private galleries of Europe seemed to have been restored to life, and personally brought into contact for the first time. And though, artistically speaking, they did not harmonize very well with each other, the general effect was in the highest degree marvellous and striking. But of all the assembled guests, one in particular is the cynosure of all eyes—the observed of all observers. This is the cleverest masquer of them all, for there is not a single detail, either in his dress, his

aspect or his demeanour, which is not strictly in conformity with the character he represents. He is clad in the garb of an American Indian. He is evidently playing the part of one of high dignity among his fellows, for his apparel is rich and costly, and his bearing is that of one who has been accustomed to rule. The dress is certainly a splendid make-up, and the wearer is evidently a consummate actor. How proudly he stalks from room to room, stately, silent, leonine, majestic. Lara himself—who, by the way, had not then been invented—had not a more chilling mystery of mien. He is above the average height—not much under six feet—and the nodding plumes of his crest make him look several inches taller than he is in reality. His tomahawk, which hangs loosely exposed at his girdle, glitters like highly-polished silver; and the hand which ever and anon toys with the haft is long and bony. The dark, piercing eyes seem almost to transfix every one upon whom they rest. One half of the face seems to be covered by a mask, made to imitate the freshly-painted visage of a Mohawk Indian when starting out upon the war path. He is evidently bent upon preserving a strict incognito, for the hours pass by and still no one has heard the sound of his voice. The curiosity of the other guests is aroused, and, pass from room to room as often as he may, a numerous train follows in his wake. One of the masquers composing this train is arrayed in the loose vestments of a Turk, and indeed is suspected to be a genuine native of the Ottoman Empire who has been sent to England on a diplomatic mission. Being emboldened by the wine he has drunk, the Oriental determines to penetrate the mystery of the dusky stranger. He approaches the seeming Indian, and after various ineffectual attempts to arrest his attention, lays violent hold of the latter's nose. Scarcely has he touched that organ when a blood-curdling yell, such as has never before been heard within the three kingdoms, resounds through the mansion.

"Ah, then and there was hurrying to and fro!"

"The peal of the distant drum did not spread greater consternation among the dancers at Brussels on the night before Waterloo. What wonder that female lips blanched, and that even masculine cheeks grew pale? That yell was the terrible war-whoop of the Mohawks, and came hot from the throat of the mysterious unknown. The truth flashed upon all beholders. The stranger was no disguised masquerader, but a veritable

brave of the American forest. Of this there could be no doubt. No white man that ever lived could learn to give utterance to such an ejaculation. The yell had no sooner sounded than the barbarian's tomahawk leapt from its girdle. He sprang upon the luckless Turk, and twined his fingers in the poor wretch's hair. For a single second the tomahawk flashed before the astonished eyes of the spectators; and then, before the latter had time—even if they could have mustered the courage—to interfere, its owner gently replaced it in his girdle, and indulged in a low chuckle of laughter. The amazed and terrified guests breathed again, and in another moment the mysterious stranger stood revealed to the company as Joseph Brant, the renowned warrior of the Six Nations, the steady ally of the British arms, and the terror of all enemies of his race. Of course the alarm soon quieted down, and order was restored. It was readily understood that he had never intended to injure the terrified Oriental, but merely to punish the latter's impertinence by frightening him within an inch of his life. Probably, too, that feeling of self-consciousness from which few minds are altogether free, impelled him to take advantage of the interest and curiosity which his presence evidently inspired, to create an incident which would long be talked about in London drawing-rooms, and which might eventually be handed down to posterity.

The anecdotes preserved of his stay in London at this time are almost innumerable. He was a great favourite with the King and his family, notwithstanding the fact that when he was first introduced at Court he declined to kiss His Majesty's hand; adding, however, with delightful *naivete*, that he would gladly kiss the hand of the Queen. The Prince of Wales also took great delight in his company, and occasionally took him to places of questionable repute—or rather, to places as to the disrepute of which there was no question whatever, and which were pronounced by the Chief "to be very queer places for a prince to go to." His envoy was successful, and his stay in London, which was prolonged for some months, must have been very agreeable, as "he was caressed by the noble and great, and was alike welcome at Court and at the banquets of the heir-apparent." After his return to America his first act of historical importance was to attend the great Council of the Indian Confederacy in the far west. He used his best endeavours to preserve peace between the Western Indians and the United States, and steadily opposed the confederation

which led to the expedition of Generals St. Clair and Wayne. We next find him engaged in settling his people upon the tract which had been granted to them on the banks of the Grand River. The principal settlement of the Mohawks was near the bend of the river, just below the present site of the city of Brantford. They called the settlement "Mohawk Village." The name still survives, but all traces of the village itself have disappeared. Brant built the little church which still stands there, an illustration of which is given above, and in which service has been held almost continuously every Sunday since its bell first awoke the echoes of the Canadian forest. Brant himself took up his abode in the neighbourhood for several years, and did his best to bring his dusky subjects under the influence of civilization. In order to facilitate his passage across the Grand River he threw a sort of temporary boom across, at a spot a few yards below where the iron-bridge now spans the stream at Brantford. From this circumstance the place came to be known as "Brant's ford;" and when, years afterwards, a village sprung up close by, the name of "Brantford" was given to it.

The Indians had not been long settled at Mohawk Village before difficulties began to arise between them and the Provincial Government as to the nature of the title to their lands. The Indians, supposing their title to be an absolute one, began to make leases and sales to the white settlers in the neighbourhood. To this proceeding the Government objected, upon the ground that the Crown had a pre-emptive right, and that the land belonged to the Indians only so long as they might choose to occupy it. Many conferences were held, but no adjustment satisfactory to the Indians was arrived at. There has been a good deal of subsequent legislation and diplomacy over this vexed question, but so far as any unfettered power of alienation of the lands is concerned Governor Haldimand's grant was practically a nullity, and so remains to this day. These disputes embittered the Chief's declining years, which was further rendered unhappy by petty dissensions among the various tribes composing the Six Nations; dissensions which he vainly endeavoured to permanently allay. Another affliction befel him in the shape of a dissipated and worthless son, whom he accidently killed in self-defence. The last few years of his life were passed in a house built by him at Wellington Square, now called Burlington, a few miles from Hamilton. He had received a grant of a large tract of land in this neighbourhood, and he built a homestead there in or about the year 1800.

Here he kept up a large establisment, including seven or eight negro servants who had formerly been slaves. He exercised a profuse and right royal hospitality alike towards the whites and the Indian warriors who gathered round him. On the first of May in each year he used to drive up, in his coach-and-four, Mohawk Village, to attend the annual Indian festival which was to held there. On these occasions he was generally attended by a numerous retinue of servants in livery, and their procession used to strike awe into the minds of the denizens of the settlements through which they passed.

He died at his house at Wellington Square, after a long and painful illness, on the 24th November, 1807, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His last thoughts were for his people, on whose behalf he had fought so bravely, and whose social and moral improvement he was so desirous to promote. His nephew, leaning over his bed, caught the last words that fell from his lips: "Have pity on the poor Indians; if you can get any influence from the great, endeavour to do them all the good you can."

His remains were removed to Mohawk Village, near Brantford, and interred in the yard of the little church which he had built many years before, and which was the first Christian church erected in Upper Canada. And there, by the banks of the Grand River,

"After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

Sufficient has been said in the course of the preceding sketch to enable the reader to form a tolerably correct idea of the character of this greatest representative of the heroic Six Nations. No expression of opinion was ever more unjust than that which has persistently held him up to the execration of mankind as a monster of cruelty. That the exigences of his position compelled him to wink at many atrocities committed by his troops is beyond question. That, however, was a necessary incident of Indian warfare; nay, of *all* warfare; and after a careful consultation and comparison of authorities we can come to no other conclusion than that, for an Indian, reared among the customs and traditions of the Six Nations, Joseph Brant was a humane and kind-hearted man. No act of perfidy was ever brought home to him. He was a constant and faithful friend, and, though stern, by no means an implacable enemy. His dauntless courage and devotion to his people have never been seriously questioned. The charges of self-seeking and peculation which Red Jacket," the greatest coward of the

Five Nations," attempted to fasten upon him, only served to render his integerity more apparent than it would otherwise have been. He was not distinguished for brilliant flights of eloquence, as were Tecumseh and Cornstalk; but both his speeches and his writings abound with a clear, sound commonsense, which was quite as much to the purpose in his dealings with mankind. His early advantages of education were not great, but he made best use of his time, and some of his correspondence written during the latter years of his life would not discredit an English statesman. He translated a part of the prayers and services of the Church of England, and also a portion of the Gospels, into the Mohawk language, and in the latter years of his life made some preparation for a voluminous history of the Six Nations. This latter work he did not live to carry out. In his social, domestic and business relations he was true and honest, and nothing pleased him better than to diffuse a liberal and genial hospitality in his own home. Taking him all in all, making due allowance for the frailties and imperfections incidental to humanity, we must pronounce Joseph Brant to have possessed in an eminent degree many of the qualities which go to make a good and a great man.

Brant was thrice married. By his first wife, Margaret, he had two children, Isaac and Christina, whose descendents are still living. By his second wife he had no issue. His third wife, Catharine, whom he married in 1780, survived him and was forty-eight years of age at the time of his death. She was the eldest daughter of the head-chief of the Turtle tribe, the tribe first in dignity among the Mohawks. By the usages of that nation, upon her devolved the right of naming her husband's successor in the chieftiancy. The canons governing the descent of the chieftaincy of the Six Nations recognize, in a somewhat modified form, the doctrine of primogeniture; but the inheritance descends through the female line, and the surviving female has a right, if she so pleases, to appoint any of her own male offspring to the vacant sovereignty. Catharine Brant exercised her right by appointing to that dignity John Brant, her third and youngest son. This youth, whose Indian name was Ahyouwaighs, was at the time of his father's death only thirteen years of age. He was born at Mohawk village, on the 27th September, 1794, and received a liberal English education. Upon the breaking out of the war of 1812, the young chief took the field with his warriors, on behalf of Great Britain, and was engaged in most of the actions on the Niagara

frontier, including the battles of Queenstown Heights, Lundy's Lane, and Beaver Dams. When the war closed in 1815, he settled at "Brant House," the former residence of his father, at Wellington Square. Here he and his sister Elizabeth dispensed a cheerful hospitality for many years. In 1821 he visited England for the purpose of trying to do what his father had failed in doing, viz., to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the disputes between the Government and the Indians respecting the title of the latter to their lands. His mission, however, was unsuccessful. While in England he called upon the poet Campbell, and endeavoured to induce that gentleman to expunge certain stanzas from the poem of "Gertrude of Wyoming," with what success has already been mentioned.

In the year 1827, Ahyouwaighs was appointed by the Earl of Dalhousie to the rank of Captain, and also in the superintendency of the Six Nations. In 1832 he was elected as a member of the Provincial Parliament for the County of Haldimand, but his election was contested and eventually set aside, upon the ground that many of the persons by whose votes he had been elected were merely lessees of Indian lands; and not entitled, under the law, as it then stood to exercise the franchise. Within a few months afterwards, and in the same year, he was carried off by cholera, and was buried in the same vault as his father. He was never married, and left no issue. His sister Elizabeth was married to William Johnson Kerr, a grandson of that same Sir William Johnson who had formerly been a patron of the great Thayendanegea. She died at Wellington Square in April, 1834, leaving several children, all of whom are since dead. By his third wife Brant had several other children, whose descendants are still living in various parts of Ontario. His widow died at the advanced age of seventy-eight years on the 24th of November, 1837, being the thirtieth anniversary of her husband's death.

The old house in which Joseph Brant died at Wellington Square, is still in existence, though it has been so covered in by modern improvements that no part of the original structure is outwardly visible. Mr. J. Simcoe Kerr, a son of Brant's daughter Elizabeth, continued to reside at the old homestead down to the time of his death in 1875. It has since been leased and refitted for a summer hotel, and is now known as "Brant House." The room in which the old chief was so unhappy as to slay his son is pointed out to visitors, with stains—said to be the original blood stains—on the floor. Among the historical objects in the immediate neighbourhood is a gnarled old oak

nearly six feet in diameter at the base, known as "The Old Council Tree," from the fact that the chief and other dignataries of the Six Nations were wont to hold conferences beneath its spreading branches. Close by is a mound where lie the bodies of many of Brant's Indian contemporaries buried, native fashion in a circle, with the feet converging to a centre.

Thirty years ago, the wooden vault in which Brant's remains and those of his son John were interred had become dilapidated The Six Nations resolved upon constructing a new one of stone, and re-interring the remains. Brant was a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity in his day, and the various Masonic lodges throughout the neighbourhood lent their aid to the Indians in their undertaking. The project was finally carried out on the twenty-seventh of November, 1850. There was an immense gathering at Mohawk village on the occasion, which is generally referred to as "Brant's second funeral." The Indians and whites vied with each other in doing honour to the memory of the departed chief. The remains were interred in a more spacious vault, over which a plain granite tomb was raised. The slab which covers the aperture contains the following inscription :

This Tomb
Is erected to the memory of
THAYENDANEGEA, or
CAPT. JOSEPH BRANT,
Principal Chief and
Warrior of
The Six Nations Indians,
By his Fellow Subjects,
Admirers of his Fidelity and
Attachment to the
British Crown.
Born on the Banks of the
Ohio River, 1742, died at
Wellington Square, U.C., 1807.

It also contains the remains
Of his son Ahyouwaighs, or
CAPT. JOHN BRANT,
who succeeded his father as
TEKARIHOGEA,
And distinguished himself
In the war of 1812-15
Born at the Mohawk Village, U.C., 1794;
Died at the same place, 1832.
Erected 1850.

This sketch would be incomplete without some allusion to the project which was set in motion about six years ago, having for its object the erection of a suitable monument to the great Chief's memory. On the 25th of August, 1874, His Excellency, Lord Dufferin, in response to an invitation from the Six Nations, paid them a visit at their Council House, in the township of Tuscarora, a few miles below Brantford. He was entertained by the chiefs and warriors, who submitted to him, for transmission to England, an address to His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, who was enrolled an Honorary Chief of the Confederacy on the occasion of his visit to Canada in 1869. The address, after referring to Brant's many and important services to the British Crown, expressed the anxious desire of his people to see a fitting monument erected to his memory. Lord Dufferin transmitted the address, and received Prince Arthur's assurances of his approval of, and good will towards, the undertaking. A committee, consisting of many of the leading officials and residents of the Dominion, was at once formed, and a subscription list was opened at the Bank of British North America, at Brantford. A good many contributions have since come in, but the fund is still insufficient to enable the committee to carry out their project in a fitting manner. We have referred to the fact that no village is now in existence at Mohawk. The Indians have deserted the neighbourhood and taken up their quarters elsewhere. Brant's tomb by the old church, being in an out-of-the-way spot, remote from the haunts of men, has fallen a prey to the sacrilegious hands of tourists and others, who have shamefully mutilated it by repeated chippings of fragments which have been carried away as relics. It is proposed to place the new monument in the centre of Victoria Park, opposite the Court House, in Brantford, where it will be under the surveillance of the local authorities, and where there will be no danger of mutilation. That Brant's memory deserves such a tribute is a matter as to which there can be no difference of opinion, and the undertaking is one that deserves the hearty support of the Canadian people. We owe a heavy debt to the Indians; heavier than we are likely to pay. It does not reflect credit upon our national sense of gratitude that no fitting monument marks our appreciation of the services of those two great Indians, Brant and Tecumseh.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

STANDING on the summit of one of the rocky eminences at the mouth of the Saguenay, and looking back through the haze of two hundred and seventy-four years, we may descry two small sailing craft slowly making their way up the majestic stream which Jacques Cartier, sixty-eight years before, christened in honour of the grilled St. Lawrence. The vessels are of French build, and have evidently just arrived from France. They are of very diminutive size for an ocean voyage, but are manned by hardy Breton mariners for whom the tempestuous Atlantic has no terrors. They are commanded by an enterprising merchant-sailor of St. Malo, who is desirous of pushing his fortunes by means of the fur trade, and who, with that end in view, has already more than once navigated the St. Lawrence as far westward as the mouth of the Saguenay. His name is Pontgravé. Like other French adventurers of his time he is a brave and energetic man, ready to do, to dare, and, if need be, to suffer; but his primary object in life is to amass wealth, and to effect this object he is not over-scrupulous as to the means employed. On this occasion he has come over with instructions from Henry IV., King of France, to explore the St. Lawrence, to ascertain how far from its mouth navigation is practicable, and to make a survey of the country on its banks. He is accompanied on the expedition by a man of widely different mould; a man who is worth a thousand of such sordid, huckstering spirits; a man who unites with the courage and energy of a soldier a high sense of personal honour and a singleness of heart worthy of the Chevalier Bayard himself. To these qualities are added an absorbing passion for colonization, and a piety and zeal which would not misbecome a Jesuit missionary. He is poor, but what the poet calls "the jingling of the guinea" has no charms for him. Let others consume their souls in heaping up riches, in chaffering with the Indians for the skins of wild beasts, and in selling the same to the affluent traders of France. It is his ambition to rear the

fleur-de-lis in the remote wildernesses of the New World, and to evangelize the savage hordes by whom that world is peopled. The latter object is the most dear to his heart of all, and he has already recorded his belief that the salvation of one soul is of more importance than the founding of an empire. After such an exordium it is scarcely necessary to inform the student of history that the name of Pontgravé's ally is Samuel De Champlain. He has already figured somewhat conspicuously in his country's annals, but his future achievements are destined to outshine the events of his previous career, and to gain for him the merited title of "Father of New France."

He was born some time in the year 1567, at Brouage, a small seaport town in the Province of Saintonge, on the west coast of France. Part of his youth was spent in the naval service, and during the wars of the League he fought on the side of the King, who awarded him a small pension and attached him to his own person. But Champlain was of too adventurous a turn of mind to feel at home in the confined atmosphere of a royal court, and soon languished for change of scene. Ere long he obtained command of a vessel bound for the West Indies, where he remained more than two years. During this time he distinguished himself as a brave and efficient officer. He became known as one whose nature partook largely of the romantic element, but who, nevertheless, had ever an eye to the practical. Several important engineering projects seem to have engaged his attention during his sojourn in the West Indies. Prominent among these was the project of constructing a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Panama, but the scheme was not encouraged, and ultimately fell to the ground. Upon his return to France he again dangled about the court for a few months, by which time he had once more become heartily weary of a life of inaction. With the accession of Henry IV. to the French throne the long religious wars which had so long distracted the country came to an end, and the attention of the Government began to be directed to the colonisation of New France—a scheme which had never been wholly abandoned, but which had remained in abeyance since the failure of the expedition undertaken by the brothers Roberval, more than half a century before. Several new attempts were made at this time, none of which was very successful. The fur trade, however, held out great inducements to private enterprise, and stimulated the cupidity of the merchants of Dieppe, Rouen and St. Malo. In the heart of one of them something nobler than

cupidity was aroused. In 1603, M. De Chastes, Governor of Dieppe, obtained a patent from the King conferring upon him and several of his associates a monopoly of the fur trade of New France. To M. De Chastes the acquisition of wealth—of which he already had enough, and to spare—was a matter of secondary importance, but he hoped to make his patent the means of extending the French empire into the unknown regions of the far West. The patent was granted soon after Champlain's return from the West Indies, and just as the pleasures of the court were beginning to pall upon him. He had served under De Chastes during the latter years of the war of the League, and the Governor was no stranger to the young man's skill, energy, and incorruptible integrity. De Chastes urged him to join the expedition, which was precisely of a kind to find favour in the eyes of an ardent adventurer like Champlain. The King's consent having been obtained, he joined the expedition under Pontgravé, and sailed for the mouth of the St. Lawrence on the 15th of March, 1603. The expedition, as we have seen, was merely preliminary to more specific and extended operations. The ocean voyage, which was a tempestuous one, occupied more than two months, and they did not reach the St. Lawrence until the latter end of May. They sailed up as far as Tadousac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, where a little trading-post had been established four years before by Pontgravé, and Chauvin. Here they cast anchor, and a fleet of canoes filled with wondering natives gathered round their little barques to sell peltries, and (unconsciously) to sit to Champlain for their portraits. After a short stay at Tadousac the leaders of the expedition, accompanied by several of the crew, embarked in a batteau and proceded up the river past deserted Stadacona to the site of the Indian village of Hochelaga, discovered by Jacques Cartier in 1535. The village so graphically described by that navigator had ceased to exist, and the tribe which had inhabited it at the time of his visit had given place to a few Algonquin Indians. Our adventurers essayed to ascend the river still farther, but found it impossible to make headway against the rapids of St. Louis, which had formerly presented an insuperable barrier to Cartier's westward progress. Then they retraced their course down the river to Tadousac, re-embarked on board their vessels, and made all sail for France. When they arrived there they found that their patron, De Chastes, had died during their absence,

and that his Company had been dissolved. Very soon afterwards, however, the scheme of colonization was taken up by the Sieur de Monts, who entered into engagements with Champlain for another voyage to the New World. De Monts and Champlain set sail on the 7th of March, 1604, with a large expedition, and in due course reached the shores of Nova Scotia, then called Acadie. After an absence of three years, during which Champlain explored the coast as far southward as Cape Cod, the expedition returned to France. A good deal had been learned as to the topographical features of the country lying near the coast, but little had been done in the way of actual colonization. The next expedition was productive of greater results. De Monts, at Champlain's instigation, resolved to found a settlement on the shores of the St. Lawrence. Two vessels were fitted up at his expense and placed under Champlain's command, with Pontgravé as lieutenant of the expedition, which put to sea in the month of April, 1608, and reached the mouth of the Saguenay early in June. Pontgravé began a series of trading operations with the Indians at Tadousac, while Champlain proceeded up the river to fix upon an advantageous site for the projected settlement. This site he found at the confluence of the St. Charles with the St. Lawrence, near the place where Jacques Cartier had spent the winter of 1535-6. Tradition tells us that when Cartier's sailors beheld the adjacent promontory of Cape Diamond they exclaimed, "*Quel bec*!"—("What a beak!")—which exclamation led to the place being called *Quebec*. The most probable derivation of the name, however, is the Indian word *kebec*, signifying a strait, which might well have been applied by the natives to the narrowing of the river at this place. Whatever may be the origin of the name, here it was that Champlain, on the 3rd of July, 1608, founded his settlement, and Quebec was the name which he bestowed upon it. This was the first permanent settlement of Europeans on the American continent, with the exception of those at St. Augustine, in Florida, and Jamestown, in Virginia.

Champlain's first attempts at settlement, as might be expected, were of a very primitive character. He erected rude barracks, and cleared a few small patches of ground adjacent thereto, which he sowed with wheat and rye. Perceiving that the fur trade might be turned to good account in promoting the settlement of the country, he bent his energies to its development. He had scarcely settled his little colony in its new home

ere he began to experience the perils of his quasi-regal position. Notwithstanding the patent of monopoly held by his patron, on the faith of which his colonization scheme had been projected, the rights conferred by it began to be infringed by certain traders who came over from France and instituted a system of traffic with the natives. Finding the traffic exceedingly profitable, these traders ere long held out inducements to some of Champlain's followers. A conspiracy was formed against him and he narrowly escaped assassination. Fortunately, one of the traitors was seized by remorse, and revealed the plot before it had been fully carried out. The chief conspirator was hanged, and his accomplices were sent over to France, where they expiated their crime at the galleys. Having thus promptly suppressed the first insurrection within his dominions, Champlain prepared himself for the rigours of a Canadian winter. An embankment was formed above the reach of the tide, and a stock of provisions was laid in sufficient for the support of the settlement until spring. The colony, inclusive of Champlain himself, consisted of twenty-nine persons. Notwithstanding all precautions, the scurvy broke out among them during the winter. Champlain, who was endowed with a vigorous constitution, escaped the pest, but before the advent of spring the little colony was reduced to only nine persons. The sovereign remedy which Cartier had found so efficacious in a similar emergency was not to be found, That remedy was a decoction prepared by the Indians from a tree which they called *Auneda* —believed to have been a species of spruce—but the natives of Champlain's day knew nothing of the remedy, from which he concluded that the tribe which had employed it on behalf of Cartier and his men had been exterminated by their enemies.

With spring, succours and fresh immigrants arrived from France, and new vitality was imported into the little colony. Soon after this time, Champlain committed the most impolitic act of his life. The Hurons, Algonquins and other tribes of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa, resolved upon taking the war-path against their enemies, the Iroquois, or Five Nations—the boldest, fiercest, and most powerful confederacy known to Indian history. Champlain, ever since his arrival in the country, had done his utmost to win the favour of the natives with whom he was brought more immediately into contact, and he deemed that by joining them in opposing the Iroquois, who were a standing menace to his colony, he would knit the Hurons and Algonquins to the side of the King of France by permanent

and indissoluble ties. To some extent he was right, but he underestimated the strength of the foe, an alliance with whom would have been of more importance than an alliance with all the other Indian tribes of New France. Champlain cast in his lot with the Hurons and Algonquins, and accompanied them on their expedition against their enemies. By so doing he invoked the deadly animosity of the latter against the French for all time to come. He did not forsee that by this one stroke of policy he was paving the way for a subsequent alliance between the Iroquois and the English.

On May 28th, 1609, in company with his Indian allies, he started on the expedition, the immediate results of which were so insignificant—the remote results of which were so momentous. The war-party embarked in canoes, ascended the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Richelieu—then called the River of the Iroquois—and thence up the latter stream to the lake which Champlain beheld for the first time, and which until that day no European eye had ever looked upon. This picturesque sheet of water was thenceforward called after him, and in its name his own is still perpetuated. The party held on their course to the head waters of the lake, near to which several Iroquois villages were situated. The enemy's scouts received intelligence of the approach of the invaders, and advanced to repel them. The opposing forces met in the forest on the south-western shore, not far from Crown point, on the morning of the 30th of July. The Iroquois, two hundred in number, advanced to the onset. "Among them," says Mr. Parkman, "could be seen several chiefs, conspicuous by their tall plumes. Some bore shields of wood and hide, and some were covered with a kind of armour made of tough twigs, interlaced with a vegetable fibre, supposed by Champlain to be cotton. The allies growing anxious, called with loud cries for their champion, and opened their ranks that he might pass to the front. He did so, and advancing before his red companions-in-arms stood revealed to the astonished gaze of the Iroquois, who, beholding the warlike apparition in their path, stared in mute amazement. But his arquebuse was levelled; the report startled the woods, a chief fell dead, and another by his side rolled among the bushes. Then there arose from the allies a yell which, says Champlain, would have drowned a thunder-clap, and the forest was full of whizzing arrows. For a moment the Iroquois stood firm, and sent back their arrows lustily; but when another and another gunshot came from the thickets

on their flank they broke and fled in uncontrollable terror. Swifter than hounds, the allies tore through the bushes in pursuit. Some of the Iroquois were killed, more were taken. Camp, canoes, provisions, all were abandoned, and many weapons flung down in the panic flight. The arquebuse had done its work. The victory was complete." The victorious allies, much to the disgust of Champlain, tortured their prisoners in the most barbarous fashion, and returned to Quebec, taking with them fifty Iroquois scalps. Thus was the first Indian blood shed by the white man in Canada. The man who shed it was a European and a Christian, who had not even the excuse of provocation. This is a matter worth bearing in mind when we read of the frightful atrocities committed by the Iroquois upon the whites in after years. Champlain's conduct on this occasion seems incapable of defence, and it was certainly a very grave error, considered simply as an act of policy. The error was bitterly and fiercely avenged, and for every Indian who fell on the morning of that 30th of July, in this, the first battle fought on Canadian soil between natives and Europeans, a tenfold penalty was exacted. "Thus did New France rush into collision with the redoubted warriors of the Five Nations. Here was the beginning, in some measure doubtless the cause, of a long succession of murderous conflicts, bearing havoc and flame to generations yet unborn. Champlain had invaded the tiger's den; and now, in smothered fury the patient savage would lie biding his day of blood."

Six weeks after the performance of this exploit, Champlain, accompanied by Pontgravé, returned to France. Upon his arrival at court he found De Monts there, trying to secure a renewal of his patent of monopoly, which had been revoked in consequence of loud complaints on the part of other French merchants who were desirous of participating in the profits arising from the fur trade. His efforts to obtain a renewal proving unsuccessful, De Monts determined to carry on his scheme of colonization unaided by royal patronage. Allying himself with some affluent merchants of Rochelle, he fitted out another expedition and once more despatched Champlain to the New World. Champlain, upon his arrival at Tadousac, found his former Indian allies preparing for another descent upon the Iroquois, in which undertaking he again joined them; the inducement this time being a promise on the part of the Indians to pilot him up the great streams leading from the in-

terior, whereby he hoped to discover a passage to the North Sea, and thence to China and the Indies. In this second expedition he was less successful than in the former one. The opposing forces met near the confluence of the Richelieu and St. Lawrence Rivers, and though Champlain's allies were ultimately victorious, they sustained a heavy loss, and he himself was wounded in the neck by an arrow. After the battle, the torture-fires were lighted, as was usual on such occasions, and Champlain for the first time was an eye-witness to the horrors of cannibalism.

He soon afterwards began his preparations for an expedition up the Ottawa, but just as he was about to start on the journey, a ship arrived from France with intelligence that King Henry had fallen a victim to the dagger of Ravaillac. The accession of a new sovereign to the French Throne might materially affect De Monts's ability to continue his scheme, and Champlain once more set sail for France to confer with his patron. The late king, while deeming it impolitic to continue the monopoly in De Monts's favour, had always countenanced the latter's colonization schemes in New France ; but upon Champlain's arrival he found that with the death of Henry IV De Monts's court influence had ceased, and that his western scheme must stand or fall on its own merits. Champlain, in order to retrieve his patron's fortunes as far as might be, again returned to Canada in the following spring , resolved to build a trading post far up the St. Lawrence, where it would be easily accessible to the Indian hunters on the Ottawa. The spot selected was near the site of the former village of Hochelaga, near the confluence of the two great rivers of Canada. The post was built on the site now occupied by the hospital of the Grey Nuns of Montreal, and even before its erection was completed a horde of rival French traders appeared on the scene. This drove Champlain once more back to France, but he soon found that the ardour of De Monts for colonization had cooled, and that he was not disposed to concern himself further in the enterprize. Champlain, being thus left to his own resources, determined to seek another patron, and succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of the Count de Soissons, who obtained the appointment of Lieutenant-General of New France, and invested Champlain with the functions of that office as his deputy. The Count did not long survive, but Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, succeeded to his privileges, and continued Champlain in his high office. In the spring of 1613 Champlain again betook himself to Canada, and arrived at

Quebec early in May. Before the end of the month he started on his long-deferred tour of western exploration. Taking with him two canoes, containing an Indian and four Frenchmen, he ascended the Ottawa in the hope of reaching China and Japan by way of Hudson's Bay, which had been disovered by Hendrick Hudson only three years before. In undertaking this journey Champlain had been misled by a French imposter called Nicholas Vignan, who professed to have explored the route far inland beyond the head waters of the Ottawa, which river, he averred, had its source in a lake connected with the North Sea. The enthusiastic explorer, relying upon the good faith of Vignan, proceeded westward to beyond Lake Coulange, and after a tedious and perilous voyage, stopped to confer with Tessouat, an Indian chief, whose tribe inhabited that remote region. This potentate, upon being apprised of the object of their journey, undeceived Champlain as to Vignan's character for veracity, and satisfied him that the Frenchman had never passed farther west than Tessouat's own dominions. Vignan, after a good deal of prevarication, confessed that his story was false, and that what the Indian chief had stated was a simple fact. Champlain, weary and disgusted, abandoned his exploration and returned to Quebec, leaving Vignan with the Indians in the wildernesses of the Upper Ottawa.

His next visit to France, which took place during the summer of the same year was fraught with important results to the colony. A new company was formed under the auspices of the Prince of Condé, and a scheme was laid for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians by means of Recollet missionaries sent out from France for the purpose. These, who were the first priests who settled in Canada, came out with Champlain in May, 1615. A province was assigned to each of them, and they at once entered upon the duties of their respective missions. One of them settled among the Montagnais, near the mouth of the Saguenay; two of them remained at Quebec; and the fourth, whose name was Le Caron, betook himself to the far western wilds. Champlain then entered upon a more extended tour of westward exploration than any he had hitherto undertaken. Accompanied by an interpreter and a number of Algonquins as guides, he again ascended the Ottawa, passed the Isle of Allumettes, and thence to Lake Nipissing. After a short stay here he continued his journey, descended the stream since known as French River, into the inlet of Lake Huron, now called Georgian Bay. Paddling

southward past the innumerable islands on the eastern coast of the bay, he landed near the present site of Penetanguishene, and thence followed an Indian trail leading through the ancient country of the Hurons, now forming the northern part of the county of Simcoe, and the north-eastern part of the county of Grey. This country contained seventeen or eighteen villages, and a population, including women and children, of about twenty thousand. One of the villages visited by Champlain, called Cahiague, occupied a site near the present town of Orillia. At another village, called Carhagouha, some distance farther west, the explorer found the Recollet friar Le Caron, who had accompanied him from France only a few months before as above mentioned. And here, on the 12th of August, 1615, Le Caron celebrated, in Champlain's presence, the first mass ever heard in the wilderness of western Canada.

After spending some time in the Huron country, Champlain accompanied the natives on an expedition against their hereditary foes, the Iroquois, whose domain occupied what is now the the central and western part of the State of New York. Crossing Lake Couchiching and coasting down the north-eastern shore of Lake Simcoe, they made their way across country to the Bay of Quinte, thence into Lake Ontario, and thence into the enemy's country. Having landed, they concealed their canoes in the woods and marched inland. On the 10th of October they came to a Seneca* village on or near a lake which was probably Lake Canandaigua. The Hurons attacked the village, but were repulsed by the fierce Iroquois, Champlain himself being several times wounded in the assault. The invading war-party then retreated and abandoned the campaign, returning to where they had hidden their canoes, in which they embarked and made the best of their way back across Lake Ontario, where the party broke up. The Hurons had promised Champlain that if he would accompany them on their expedition against the Iroquois they would afterwards furnish him with an escort back to Quebec. This promise they now declined to make good. Champlain's prestige as an invincible champion was gone, and wounded and dispirited, he was compelled to accompany them back to their country near Lake Simcoe, where he spent the winter in the lodge of Durantal, one of their chiefs. Upon his return to Quebec in

* The Senecas were one of the Five Nations composing the redoubtable Iroquois Confederacy. The Tuscaroras joined the League in 1715, and it is subsequently known in history as the "Six Nations."

the following year he was welcomed as one risen from the dead.

Hitherto Champlain's love of adventure had led him to devote more attention to exploration than to the consolidation of his power in New France. He determined to change his policy in this respect, and crossed over to France to induce a larger emigration. In July, 1620, he returned with Madame de Champlain, who was received with great demonstrations of respect and affection by the Indians upon her arrival at Quebec. Champlain found that the colony had rather retrograded than advanced during his absence, and for some time after his return, various causes contributed to retard its prosperity. At the end of the year 1621,† the European population of New France numbered only forty-eight persons. Rival trading companies continued to fight for the supremacy in the colony, and any man less patient and persevering than the Father of New France would have abandoned his schemes in despair. This untoward state of things continued until 1627, when an association, known to history by the name of "The Company of the One Hundred Associates," was formed under the patronage of the great Cardinal Richelieu. The association was invested with the Vice-royalty of New France and Florida, together with very extensive auxiliary privileges, including a monopoly of the fur trade, the right to confer titles and appoint judges, and generally to carry on the Government of the colony. In return for these truly vice-regal privileges the company undertook to send out a large number of colonists, and to provide them with the necessaries of life for a term of three years, after which land enough for their support and grain wherewith to plant it was to be given them. Champlain himself was appointed Governor. This great company was scarcely organized before war broke out between France and England. The English resolved upon the conquest of Canada, and sent out a fleet to the St. Lawrence under the command of Sir David Kertk. The fleet having arrived before Quebec, its commander demanded from Champlain a surrender of the place, and as the Governor's supply of food and ammunition was too small to enable him to sustain a siege, he signed a capitulation and surrendered. He then hastened to France, where he influenced the cabinet to stipulate for the restoration of Canada to the French Crown in the articles of peace which were shortly afterwards negotiated between the

† In this year, Eustache, son of Abraham and Margaret Martin, the first child of European parentage born in Canada, was born at Quebec.

two powers. In 1632 this restoration was effected, and next year Champlain again returned in the capacity of Governor. From this time forward he strove to promote the prosperity of the colony by every means in his power. Among the means whereby he zealously strove to effect this object was the establishment of Jesuit missions for the conversion of the Indians. Among other missions so established was that in the far western Huron country, around which the *Relations des Jesuites* have cast such a halo of romance.

The Father of New France did not live to gather much fruit from the crop which he had sown. His life of incessant fatigue at last proved too much even for his vigorous frame. After an illness which lasted for ten weeks, he died on Christmas Day, 1635, at the age of sixty-eight. His beautiful young wife, who had shared his exile for four years, returned to France where she became an Ursuline nun, and founded a convent at Meaux, in which she immured herself until her death a few years later.

Champlain's body was interred in the vaults of a little Recollet church in the Lower Town. This church was subsequently burned to the ground, and its very site was not certainly known until recent times. In the year 1867 some workmen were employed in laying water-pipes beneath the flight of stairs called "Breakneck Steps," leading from Mountain Hill to Little Champlain street. Under a grating at the foot of the steps they discovered the vaults of the old Recollet church, with the remains of the Father of New France enclosed.

Independently of his energy, perseverance, and fortitude as an explorer, Samuel de Champlain was a man of considerable mark, and earned for himself an imperishable name in Canadian history. He wrote several important works which, in spite of many defects, bear the stamp of no ordinary mind. His engaging in war with the Iroquois was a fatal error, but it arose from the peculiar position in which he found himself placed at the outset of his western career, and it is difficult to see how anything short of actual experience could have made his error manifest. The purity of his life was proverbial, and was the theme of comment among his survivors for years after his death. He foresaw that his adopted country was destined for a glorious future. "The flourishing cities and towns of this Dominion," says one of his eulogists, "are enduring monuments to his foresight; and the waters of the beautiful lake that bears his name chant the most fitting requiem to his memory as they break in perpetual murmurings on their shores."

This sketch would be incomplete without some reference to the mysterious astrolabe which is alleged to have been found in the month of August, 1867, and which is supposed by some to have been lost by Champlain on the occasion of his first ...age up the Ottawa in 1613, as recounted in the preceding ...ages. The facts of the case may be compressed into few words, although they have given rise to many learned disquisitions which, up to the present time, have been barren of any u... ful result.

I... the month of August, 1867, some men were engaged in cultivating a piece of ground on the rear half of lot number twelve, in the second range of the township of Ross, in the county of Renfrew, Ontario, while turning up the soil, as it is said, they came upon a queer looking instrument, which upon examination proved to be an astrolabe an instrument used in former times to mark the position of the stars, and to assist in computing latitudes, but long since gone out of use. Upon its face was engraved the date 1603. Now, Champlain's first journey up the Ottawa was made in the summer of 1613, and he must have passed at or near the identical spot where the ...strolabe was found. It is claimed that this instrument be...ed to Champlain, and that it was lost by him in this place.

...pport of this claim it is represented that Champlain's latitudes were always computed with reasonable exactness up to the time of his passing through the portage of which the plot of ground whereon the instrument was found forms a part. After that time his computations are generally erroneous—so erroneous, indeed, as to have led some readers of his journal very seriously astray in following out his course. This, in reality, is all the evidence to be found as to the ownership of the lost astrolabe. Taken by itself, it is reasonably strong circumstantial evidence. On the other hand it may be contended that astrolabes had pretty well gone out of use before the year 1613, and Champlain was a man not likely to be behind his times in the matter of scientific appliances. But the strongest argument is to be found in the fact that Champlain's journal, which contains minute details of everything that happened from day to day, makes no allusion whatever to his having lost his astraolabe—a circumstance, it would seem, not very likely to be omitted. The question is of course an open one, and has given rise, as has already been said, to much discussion among Canadian archæologists, It is, however, of little historical importance, and needs no further allusion in these pages.

THE HON. WILLIAM OSGOODE.

In view of the fact that this gentleman's name has a very fair chance of immortality in this Province, it is to be regretted that so little is accurately known about him, and that only the merest outline of his career has come down to the present times. Many Canadians would gladly know something more of the life of the first man who filled the important position of Chief-Justice of Upper Canada, and the desire for such knowledge is by no means confined to members of the legal profession. He was the faithful friend and adviser of our first Lieutenant-Governor, and it is doubtless to his legal acumen that we owe those eight wise statues which were passed during the first session of our first Provincial Parliament, which assembled at Newark on the 17th of September, 1792.

Nothing is definitely known concerning Chief-Justice Osgoode's ancestry. A French-Canadian writer asserts that he was an illegitimate son of King George the Third. No authority whatever is assigned in support of this assertion, which probably rests upon no other basis than vague rumour. Similar rumours have been current with respect to the paternity of other persons who have been more or less conspicuous in Canada, and but little importance should be attached to them. He was born in the month of March, 1754, and entered as a commoner at Christchurch College, Oxford, in 1770, when he had nearly completed his sixteenth year. After a somewhat prolonged attendance at this venerable seat of learning, he graduated and received the degree of Master of Arts in the month of July, 1777. Previous to this time he had entered himself as a student at the Inner Temple, having already been enrolled as a student on the books of Lincoln's Inn. He seems at this time to have been possessed of some small means but not sufficient for his support, and he pursued his professional studies with such avidity as temporarily to undermine his health. He paid a short visit to the Continent, and returned to his native land with restored physical and mental vigour. In due course he

was called to the Bar, and soon afterwards published a technical work on the law of descent, which attracted some notice from the profession. He soon became known as an erudite and painstaking lawyer, whose opinions were entitled to respect, and who was very expert as a special pleader. At the Bar he was less successful, owing to an almost painful fastidiousness in his choice of words, which frequently produced an embarrassing hesitation of speech. He seems to have been a personal friend of Colonel Simcoe, even before that gentleman's appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and their intimacy may possibly have had something to do with Mr. Osgoode's appointment as Chief-Justice of the new Province in the spring of 1792. He came over in the same vessel with the Governor, who sailed on the 1st of May. Upon reaching Upper Canada the Governor and staff, after a short stay at Kingston, passed on to Newark (now Niagara). The Chief-Justice accompanied the party, and took up his abode with them at Navy Hall, where he continued to reside during the greater part of his stay in the Province which was of less than three years' duration. The solitude of his position, and his almost complete isolation from society, and from the surroundings of civilized life seem to have been unbearable to his sensitive and social nature. In 1795 he was appointed Chief-Justice of the Lower Province, where he continued to occupy the Judicial Bench until 1801, when he resigned his position, and returned to England. His services as Chief-Justice entitled him to a pension of £800 per annum, which he continued to enjoy for rather more than twenty-two years. For historical purposes, his career may be said to have ceased with his resignation, as he never again emerged from the seclusion of private life. He was several times requested to enter Parliament, but declined to do so. During the four years immediately succeeding his return to England he resided in the Temple. In 1804, upon the conversion of Melbourne House—a mansion in the West End of London—into the fashionable set of chambers known as "The Albany," he took up his quarters there for the remainder of his life. Among other distinguished men who resided there contemporaneously with him were Lord Brougham and Lord Byron. The latter occupied the set of chambers immediately adjoining those of the retired Chief-Justice, and the two became personally acquainted with each other; though, considering the diversity of their habits, it is not likely that any very close intimacy was established between them. In conjunc-

tion with Sir William Grant, Mr. Osgoode was appointed on several legal commissions. One of these consisted of the codification of certain Imperial Statutes relating to the colonies. Another commission in which he took part was an enquiry into the amount of fees receivable by certain officials in the Court of King's Bench, which enquiry was still pending at the time of his death. He lived very much to himself, though he was sometimes seen in society. He died of acute pneumonia on the 17th of January, 1824, in the seventieth year of his age. One of his intimate friends has left the following estimate of his character:—" His opinions were independent, but zealously loyal; nor were they ever concealed, or the defence of them abandoned, when occasions called them forth. His conviction of the excellence of the English Constitution sometimes made him severe in the reproof of measures which he thought injurious to it; but his politeness and good temper prevented any disagreement even with those whose sentiments were most opposed to his own. To estimate his character rightly, it was, however, necessary to know him well; his first approaches being cold, amounting almost to dryness. But no person admitted to his intimacy ever failed to conceive for him that esteem which his conduct and conversation always tended to augment. He died in affluent circumstances, the result of laudable prudence, without the smallest taint of avarice or illiberal parsimony. On the contrary, he lived generously, and though he never wasted his property, yet he never spared, either to himself or friends, any reasonable indulgence; nor was he backward in acts of charity or benevolence."

He was never married. There is a story about an attachment formed by him to a young lady of Quebec, during his residence there. It is said that the lady preferred a wealthier suitor, and that he never again became heart-whole. This, like the other story above mentioned, rests upon mere rumour, and is entitled to the credence attached to other rumours of a similar nature. His name is perpetuated in this Province by that of the stately Palace of Justice on Queen Street West, Toronto; also, by the name of a township in the county of Carleton,

LORD SYDENHAM.

TOWARDS the close of last century there was in the City of London, England, a prominent mercantile house which carried on business under the style of "J. Thomson, T. Bonar & Co." The branch of commerce to which this house chiefly devoted its attention was the Russian trade. It had existed, under various styles, for more than a hundred years, and had built up so extensive a trade as to have a branch establishment at the Russian capital. The senior partner of the firm was John Thomson of Waverley Abbey, and Roehampton, in the county of Surrey. In the year 1820 this gentleman assumed the name of Poulett—in remembrance of his mother, who was heiress of a branch of the family of that name—and he was afterwards known as John Poulett Thomson. In 1781 he married Miss Charlotte Jacob, daughter of a physician at Salisbury. By this lady he had a numerous family, consisting of nine children. The youngest of these, Charles Edward Poulett Thomson, destined to be the first governor of United Canada, and to be raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Sydenham, was born on the 13th of September, 1799, at the family seat in Surrey—Waverley Abbey, above-mentioned. His mother had long been in delicate health, and at the time of his birth was so feeble as to give rise to much solicitude as to her chances of recovery. She finally rallied, but for some months she led the life of an invalid. Her feebleness reflected itself in the constitution of her son, who never attained to much physical strength. The feebleness of his body was doubtless increased by the nervous activity of his intellect, which constantly impelled him to mental feats incompatible with his delicate frame. It may be said that he passed through the forty-two years which made up the measure of his life in a chronic state of bodily infirmity. The fret and worry incidental to an ambitious parliamentary and official career doubtless also contributed their share to the shortening of his life.

His childhood was marked by a sprightly grace and beauty

which made him a general favourite. In his fourth year he was for a time the especial pet of his Majesty King George III. He made the King's acquaintance at Weymouth, where, with other members of his family, he spent part of the summer of 1803. While walking on the Parade, in charge of his nurse, his beauty and sprightliness attracted the notice of His Majesty, who was also spending the season there, in the hope of regaining that physical and mental vigour which never returned to him. The King was much taken with the vivacity and pert replies of the handsome little fellow, and insisted on a daily visit from him. The child's conquest over the royal heart was complete, and His Majesty seemed to be never so well pleased as when he had little Master Thomson in his arms, carrying him about, and showing him whatever amusing sights the place afforded. On one occasion the King was standing on the shore near the pier-head, in conversation with Mr. Pitt, who had come down from London to confer with His Majesty about affairs of State. His Majesty was about to embark in the royal yacht for a short cruise, and, as was usual at that time of the day, he had Master Thomson in his arms. When just on the point of embarking, he suddenly placed the child in the arms of Mr. Pitt, saying hurriedly, "Is not this a fine boy, Pitt? Take him in your arms, Pitt—take him in your arms. Charming boy, isn't he?" Pitt complied with the royal request with the best grace he could, and carried the child in his arms to the door of his lodgings.

At the age of seven, Master Thomson was sent to a private school at Hanwell, whence, three years afterwards, he was transferred to the charge of the Rev. Mr. Wooley, at Middleton, After spending a short time there, he became a pupil of the Rev. Mr. Church, at Hampton, where he remained until he had nearly completed his sixteenth year. He then left school—his education, of course, being far from complete—and entered the service of his father's firm. It was determined that he should begin his mercantile career in the St. Petersburg branch, and in the summer of 1815 he was despatched to Russia. His fine manners and address, combined with the wealth and influence of the firm to which he was allied, obtained him access to the best society of St. Petersburg, where he spent more than two years. In the autumn of 1817, upon his recovery from a rather serious illness, it was thought desirable that he should spend the coming winter in a milder climate than that of St. Petersburg, and he returned to his native land. The next two

or three years were spent in travelling on the Continent with other members of his family. He then entered the counting-house in London, where he spent about eighteen months. This brings us down to the year 1821. In the spring of that year he wns admitted as a partner in the firm, and once more went out to St. Petersburg, where he again remained nearly two years. He then entered npon a somewhat prolonged tour through central and southern Russia, and across country to Vienna, where he spent the winter of 1823–4, and part of the following spring. Towards the end of April he set out for Paris, where his mother was confined by illness, and where she breathed her last almost immediately after her son's arrival. Mr. Thomson soon afterwards returned to London, where he settled down as one of the managing partners of the commercial establishment. In this capacity he displayed the same energy which subsequently distinguished his political and diplomatic career. He took a lively interest in the political questions of the day; more especially in those relating to commercial matters. He was a pronounced Liberal, and a strenuous advocate of free-trade. In the summer of 1825 advances were made to him to become the Liberal candidate for Dover at the next election. After due consideration he responded favourably to these advances, and was in due course returned by a considerable majority. One of his earliest votes in the House of Commons was in favour of free-trade. He soon became known as a ready and effective speaker, whose judgment on commercial questions was entitled to respect. His zeal for the principles of his party was also conspicuous, and when Earl Grey formed his Administration in November, 1830, the office of Vice-President of the Board of Trade, together with the Treasurership of the Navy, was offered to and accepted by Mr. Thomson. He was at the same time sworn in as a member of the Privy Council. The acceptance of the former office rendered it necessary for him to sever his connection with the commercial firm of which he had up to this time been a member, and he never again engaged in mercantile business of any kind. By this time, indeed, he had established for himself a reputation of no common order. The part he had taken in the debates of the House, and in the proceedings of its Committees, on questions connected with commerce and finance, had proved him to possess not only a clear practical acquaintance with the details of these subjects, but also principles of an enlarged and liberal character, and powers of

generalization and a comprehensiveness of view rarely found combined in so young a man. The next three or four years were busy ones with him. It will be remembered that this was the era of the Reform Bill. Mr. Thomson did not take a prominent part in the discussions on that measure, his time being fully occupied with the financial and fiscal policy, but he put forth the weight of his influence in favour of the Bill. His principal efforts, during his tenure of office, were directed to the simplification and amendment of the Customs Act, and to an ineffectual attempt to negotiate a commercial treaty with France. After the dissolution in 1831 he was re-elected for Dover. He was, however, also elected—without any canvass or solicitation on his part—for Manchester, the most important manufacturing constituency in the kingdom; and he chose to sit for the latter. In 1834 he succeeded to the Presidency of the Board of Trade, as successor to Lord Auckland. Then followed Earl Grey's resignation and Lord Melbourne's accession. On the dismissal of the Ministry in November, Mr. Thomson was, of course, left without office, but on Lord Melbourne's re-accession in the following spring he was reinstated in the Presidency of the Board of Trade—an office which he continued to hold until his appointment as Governor-General of Canada.

Early in 1836 his health had become so seriously affected by his official labours that he began to recognize the necessity of resigning his office, and of accepting some post which would not so severely tax his energies. He continued to discharge his official duties, however, until the reconstruction of Lord Melbourne's Administration in 1839, when he signified his wish to be relieved. He was offered a choice between the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer and that of Governor-General of Canada. He chose the latter, and having received his appointment and been sworn in before the Privy Council, he set sail from Portsmouth for Quebec on the 13th of September, which was the fortieth anniversary of his birth. He reached his destination after a tedious, stormy voyage, and assumed the reins of government on the 19th of October. He was well received in this country. The mercantile community of Canada were especially disposed to favour the appointment of a man who had himself been bred to commercial pursuits, and who would be likely to feel a more than ordinary interest in promoting commercial interests.

Canada was at this time in a state of transition. Owing to

than in those inculcated by precept merely, determined to comply with the request, rightly judging that the passion for agriculture would not be of long duration. A private understanding was accordingly arrived at between the father and a neighbouring farmer, and the happy youth, full of glee at what he considered his escape from dry and barren studies, was indentured with all formality to serve as a farmer's boy for a term of five years. Imagination will serve to depict the result upon young Leteiller's feelings of a few weeks' experience of heavy farm work. For a week or two he endeavoured bravely to endure the hardships of his position, until finally he acknowledged that he had gained wisdom by experience, and asked to be released from his engagement. This request was met with a stern refusal He was informed that a solemn obligation had been entered into with his master, which could not be thus lightly set aside. Disheartened and disappointed, young Letellier next had recourse to his master, and vainly endeavoured to obtain his release. He was again told that the solemn engagement which had been entered into with his full knowledge and consent, could not be terminated without the payment of damages or the consent of all the parties interested. Nor was it until after the future Lieutenant-Governor had become fully impressed with the nature of an obligation of this kind, and had learned by bitter experience—and therefore well—a lesson which has never been forgotten, that he found himself freed from his self-imposed bondage, and able to return to his books and his college. One can easily conceive that so salutary a lesson must have been an important event in the young man's career. He doubtless found the restrictions imposed by the collegiate discipline much less irksome than they had seemed before his self-imposed rustication, and resumed his studies with a zeal which he had never previously displayed. He soon became known as a diligent and promising scholar, and those who knew him best began to form sanguine anticipations as to his future. He determined to fit himself for the profession of a notary, and entered upon a course of study with that end in view. Upon attaining his majority he was admitted to practice, A year or two previous to this time he sustained a heavy bereavement by his father's death, which event threatened to seriously interfere with his views, as he was left without the means of maintaining himself as a student. The difficulty was bridged over, however, by the kindly intervention of his uncle,

the late Hon. Judge Panet, who took the young man under his own special protection, treated him in every way as a son, and furnished him with the means of pursuing his professional studies.

A somewhat unusual incident occurred in connection with M. Letellier's admission as a notary. The license authorizing candidates to practice the various professions were at that time issued by the Governor in Council, and it happened that simultaneously with the issue of the batch of licenses which included young Letellier's, the Government issued a number of commissions appointing new Legislative Councillors. Through some official blunder Luc Letellier, instead of his license to practice as a notary, received a commisson appointing him a Legislative Councillor. He knew that an error had been committed, and showed the document to his guardian, who told him that the day would assuredly come when he would in reality be a member of the Legislative Council, inasmuch as he possessed within himself the material of which legislators are made. The Judge was not accustomed to speak confidently as to matters respecting which he had no certain knowledge, and the fact that he indulged in such a prediction is evidence of the high estimate which he had formed of his ward's qualifications. His prediction has been abundantly verified. M. Letellier has not only sat in the Legislative Council, but has creditably filled a much higher place. Independently of the imbroglio which culminated last year there has been nothing in his official life to which even the bitterest of his opponents can take serious exception.

But at the period under consideration these triumphs were still in the far future. Meanwhile M. Letellier was simply a young notary with small provision for the future, except such as was furnished by his own ability. He devoted himself assiduously to his profession, and soon succeeded in building up a practice which, though not so large as was that of some of his competitors, lay largely among wealthy and influential people, and was attended with much pecuniary profit. He soon came to be looked upon as a rising man, who would sooner or later have to find his way into political life. The time was not long in arriving. At the elections which took place in the autumn of 1850, M. Letellier for the first time offered himself to the electors of the County of Kamouraska as a candidate for a seat in the House of Assembly of Canada. He was successful, and during the following session took his

seat in the House as member for that Constituency. He presented himself for re-election at the general elections, which took place in 1852, but this time, his opponent, M. Chapais, headed the poll, and M. Letellier was left without a seat. It may be noticed, in passing, that nowhere in the Lower Province are the lines of party more finely drawn than in the County of Kamouraska. This has been the case ever since the Union of the Provinces in 1841. A local writer, who is well acquainted with the state of political feeling there, recently recorded that "the people of this fine agricultural constituency guard their allegiance to their party-leaders almost as scrupulously as their adhesion to their articles of faith, and defections from the ranks of either political party in Kamouraska are therefore of very rare occurrence." Up to this day the inhabitants of the County are in the habit of speaking of their neighbours as "un Chapais" or "un Letellier" —meaning that the person referred to is an adherent of the Chapais or the Letellier faction, as the case may be. For more than twenty years, and in many an election contest, the fight was maintained between the leaders of the two parties, the present Senator Chapais on the one side, and the subject of this sketch on the other. The conflict was always close, and always carried on with much bitterness.

At the general election of 1857, M. Letellier was again compelled to endure defeat. Three years later he offered himself as a candidate for the Legislative Council for the Grandville Division, which includes the County of Kamouraska. His candidature on that occasion was successful, and he continued to sit in the Council until the Union. In the month of May, 1863, he was appointed Minister of Agriculture in the Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion Government, and upon presenting himself before his constituents he was re-elected by acclamation. This position he held until March, 1864, retaining meanwhile his seat in the Legislative Council. In May, 1867, he was called to the Senate, by royal proclamation, for the Division of Grandville. During the next five or six years he was leader of the Opposition in the Senate. The abolition of dual representation not having then been effected he was induced in February, 1869, to offer himself as a candidate for election to the Quebec Assembly for the County of Kamouraska, and in 1871 for the County of L'Islet. He was unsuccessful in both these contests, but on each occasion the majority against him was very small, owing to the close division of

party lines above referred to, which lines seem to be drawn almost as finely in L'Islet as in Kamouraska.

On the seventh of November, 1873, Sir John A. Macdonald's Ministry having resigned, a new Government being in process of formation, Mr. Letellier, who had spent the whole of his political career in Opposition, was sworn of the Privy Council and appointed Minister of Agriculture in the Government of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. He was also *ex-officio* Commissioner of Patents, and co-leader with the Hon. R. W. Scott for the Government in the Senate, up to the date of his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. He was also President of the Canadian division at the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1875. Towards the close of the following year—on the 13th of December, 1876,—the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Province of Quebec became vacant in consequence of the death of the Hon. Rene Edouard Caron. The vacant position was offered to, and accepted by M. Letellier de St. Just, who assumed his governmental functions on the 15th of the month.

His tenure of office was characterized, as is well known, by a series of events which produced great excitement in the minds of the people of his Province. He had not long occupied the position of Lieutenant-Governor before he began to find himself more or less at variance with the Local Government, more especially with the Premier, M. De Boucherville. The variance arose partly from the different points of view from which they cotemplated public affairs generally, and each seems to have been of opinion that the other was trying to usurp functions foreign to his office. M. De Boucherville on several occasions shewed a disposition to substitute the power of the Executive for that of the ordinary Courts of Law. It is fair to add that he was urged on to this course by some of his colleagues, and that the offence was by no means confined to him alone. The Lieutenant-Governor all along manifested a good deal of firmness, and used great plainness of speech in his conferences with the Premier. By degrees the differences between them became wider and wider, and ere long all the members of the Administration were parties to the dispute. Finally, on the 24th of March, 1878, matters were brought to a crisis. On that day it was announced to the world that the Lieutenant-Governor had dismissed his Cabinet, and was about to form a new one. The Province was thrown into a state of the greatest excitement by this announcement, which soon extended in a less degree over

all the Dominion. The principal cause of disagreement between the Lieutenant-Governor and M. De Boucherville arose out of a Bill relating to the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa & Occidental Railway. This Bill had been introduced into the Assembly, and had actually passed that House before the Lieutenant-Governor was made acquainted with its provisions. This the Lieutenant-Governor believed to be not only an evil in itself, and an infringement upon his prerogative, but actually subversive of the Constitution. It is impossible to understand the nature of this dispute without some knowledge of the history of the measure which directly occasioned it. A few years ago the Quebec Government, yielding to urgent petitions from the various municipalities situated along the north shore of the River St. Lawrence, agreed to assume a charter previously granted to a private company to build a railway along the north shore from Quebec to Ottawa. The route of the projected road was laid out, and the municipalities through which it ran granted bonuses to assist in its construction. The bonuses varied in amount, and were presumed to be proportionate to the actual benefit which the respective municipalities were to derive from the projected railway. Then began a reign of wire-pulling and bribery such as the lobbyists at Washington have long been familiar with, but which we in Canada have fortunately had but little experience of. Rings, partly composed, in some cases, of members of the Local Legislature, were formed for the securing undue advantages in connection with this and other enterprises. The most shameless corruption was practised, and M. de Boucherville, the head of the Administration, declared his inability to restrain the evil. The location of the line was altered in places, and in many instances the original features of the undertaking were completely changed. The municipalities affected by the change of route protested, but to no purpose; and finding that their representations were of no avail, and that the agreement with them had been violated, they refused to pay over their bonuses. Here the trouble culminated. The Provincial Exchequer was empty. The work on the railway was unpaid for; contractors were clamorous, and the Government determined to appropriate the bonuses itself as the most direct way out of the difficulty. To effect this they introduced a Bill to the Assembly which, amongst other things, empowered the Government to determine the date of the maturity of the whole or of part of the municipal subscriptions. It then declared that no objec-

tion, exception, reason, plea, or opposition should avail to justify any of the municipalities or corporations in refusing to sign, execute, and deliver to the treasurer of the Province its debentures, appropriated to the construction of the road, as soon as the Lieutenant-Governor in Council should have declared that the debentures might be exacted. As if these provisions were not sufficiently stringent, it was further enacted that, in the event of a municipality or corporation refusing to pay its subscripsions, or to sign and execute its debentures, the mayor or warden should be vested with authority to sign and execute them without the consent of the municipal Council; and should the mayor or warden decline to act, the Government could proceed to appoint a syndic with power to issue debentures in the name of the municipality for the amount of its subscription. When the contents of this Bill came to the knowledge of the Lieutenant-Governor he expressed great astonishment and disapproval, and it was in resisting its adoption that he found himself at variance with his advisers. M. de Boucherville said that the measure had the sanction of the majority of the people's representatives. The Lieutenant-Governor took the ground that in his opinion the majority did not reflect the views of the people on that subject. He positively refused to accept their verdict, and asked M. de Boucherville to name his successor. This M. de Boucherville declined to do, and M. Letellier had then no resource left but to select a successor himself, and appeal to the country. M. Joly, leader of the Opposition, was asked to undertake the task of forming a new Administration, and he shortly afterwards appealed to the people on the distinct announcement that he assumed full responsibility for the course taken by the Lieutenant-Governor. His appeal was successful, the Government formed by him being sustained by a small majority. Soon afterwards, in conseqence, it is presumed, of pressure brought to bear upon him by his Quebec supporters, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced into the House of Commons, a motion condemnatory of M. Letellier's conduct. The motion was defeated, but the change of Government consequent upon the elections of the following September aroused in the opponents of the Lieutenant-Governor the hope of his dismissal by the Governor-General on the advice of his Ministers. On the 7th of November, these gentleman who had been members of M. DeBoucherville's Government, Messrs. Chapleau, Church, and Angus, took a decisive step. They addressed a petition to Sir Patrick L. Macdougall, in his

official capacity, as Administrator of the Government, praying that M. Letellier might be dismissed from his office of Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. In this petition all the grounds of dispute were set forth at great length. A copy of it was officially forwarded to M. Letellier, who formally replied to it, traversing its allegations, and justifying his conduct by elaborate and well sustained arguments. There was a subsequent rejoinder and sur-rejoinder, after which the matter was referred to the Home Government for decision. The sequel is still fresh in the memories of all readers of these pages. The Home Government declined to interfere in the matter. In the Colonial Secretary's despatch on the subject to the Governor-General of Canada, however, it was intimated that under the British North America Act the Lieutenant-Governor of a Province has an unquestionable constitutional right to dismiss his Provincial Ministers if from any cause he feels it incumbent upon him to do so. In the exercise of this right as of any other of his functions, he should, of course, maintain the impartiality towards rival political parties, which is essential to the proper performance of the duties of his office; and for any action he may take he is, under the 59th section of the Act, directly responsible to the Governor-General. It was further intimated that the power to dismiss a dismiss a Lieutenant-Governor rests with the Governor-General and the Dominion Cabinet, and not with the Governor-General alone. The latter was recommended to discuss the matter carefully with his Ministers, and to be guided by their views. Under these circumstances there was but one course open to His Excellency, who found that the minds of his Ministers were fully made up on the subject. On the 25th of July last His Excellency signed the Order in Council dismissing M. Letellier from his office. A day or two elapsed before his successor was appointed in the person of Dr. Robitaille. The interval gave occasion to a prominent Montreal newspaper to discuss the usefulness of Local Governments generally. It was asked whether, if a Province can get along without a Lieutenant-Governor, being in the interval ruled from Ottawa for forty-eight hours, might not such a functionary be altogether dispensed with? The political allies of M. Letellier throughout the Dominion, felt strongly on the subject, and expressed the opinion that a great wrong had been inflicted on himself personally, and on the people of his Province who had stood by him and endorsed his acts. Public demonstrations in his favour were held in Quebec and elsewhere,

and strong sympathy was expressed for his position. The anxiety and worry consequent upon the ordeal through which he had passed, was not without effect upon M. Letellier's health, and during the few months which have elapsed since that time, he has not taken any prominent part in public affairs. There has since been a change of Government in Quebec, M. Joly's Ministry having given place to that formed by M. Chapleau.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH.

It is a trite observation that the lives of men of letters are seldom marked by much variety of incident. The life of the subject of the present sketch forms no exception to the general rule. He was born on the 13th of August, 1823, at Reading, in Berkshire, where his father was a practising physician of high standing and of ample fortune. As a child, he was conspicuous for the unusual precocity of his understanding, and his memory was prodigious. He received his early education at Eton, from whence, in his nineteenth year, he was transferred to Christ Church, Oxford. Not long after his matriculation he was elected a Demy of Magdalen College. As an undergraduate, he took no part in the proceedings of the College debating societies, and seems to have had no ambition to figure before the world as an orator; but he gained both the Ireland and Hartford scholarships, and the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse. In 1845 he took his baccalaureate degree, and was placed in the first class. Two years afterwards he was elected to a Fellowship in University College, and for some months he officiated as tutor there.

In 1847 he was called to the bar of Lincoln's Inn, and took up his abode in London. He never engaged, or attempted to engage, in actual practice as a barrister; but soon became known as a youth of talent and culture. He espoused the liberal side in politics, and began to contribute to the daily journals, as well as to quarterly and other reviews. The most sanguine anticipations were formed with reference to his future political career. He determined, however, to devote himself to literature, and after spending a season in town he returned to Oxford, where he was for some time a diligent student. His studies were specially directed to historical research with a view to an important historical work. He devoted himself to a painstaking and thorough examination of the archives of the university, and ransacked the manuscript treasures deposited in the Bodleian library. There had long

been a good deal of discussion in England on the subject of University Reform, and in 1850 the agitation began to make itself heard to some purpose. It was necessary that some measure directed towards the removal of certain abuses and disabilities at Oxford should be submitted to Parliament. Lord John Russel felt that it would be impossible to deal effectually with so important a matter without fuller knowledge of the subject than was possessed by either the Government or Parliament. A Royal Commission was accordingly appointed with instructions to subject the whole matter to a thorough investigation. Overtures were made to Mr. Smith to give the Commissioners the benefit of his extensive knowledge, and he consented to act as Assistant Secretary. Upon the appointment of the second Commission he became its Secretary, and there can be no doubt that his knowledge enabled many important reforms to be brought about much earlier than they would have been accomplished without his assistance.

Early in 1855 the *Saturday Review* was projected, and in the month of November the first number made its appearance. For the first year or two of its existence Mr. Smith was a regular contributor to its columns. He wrote also for the *Daily News*—generally under his own signature—and in several other journals, both in London and in the provinces. In 1857 the Regius Professorship of Modern History at the University of Oxford became vacant through the resignation of Professor Vaughan. The choice of a successor to the vacancy lay betweenMr. Smith and Mr. James Anthony Froude. Mr. Smith's qualifications for the position were considered to be on the whole superior to those of Mr. Froude, and the chair was accordingly offered to him in the spring of 1858. He accepted the offer, and shortly afterwards began to discharge the duties incidental to the position. He entered upon his task with avidity, and for about eight years continned to perform his duties in such a manner as to reflect credit alike upon himself and upon the University.

In 1861 he published several of the most remarkable of his professorial addresses, under the title of "Lectures on the Study of History." Whatever opinion may be formed as to the correctness of some of the conclusions arrived at in these lectures, there can be bnt one opinion as to the author's sincerity, earnestness, and mastery of the English language. The *Westminister Review*, while declining to adopt some of the lecturer's

conclusions, prefaced its dissent by such remarks as these : "Mr. Goldwin Smith is clearly master of a power of expression which has scarcely a rival amongst us. His language has a native strength and purity which rises not seldom into true poetry. He is, too, obviously possessed by real convictions and a genuine enthusiasm for moral greatness. These lectures have fine thoughts, stamped in noble words." The publication of these lectures roused a good deal of controversy. They attacked and ridiculed the theories of Mr. Buckle and the Positivists with reference to the feasibility of reducing history to a science. The Positivists rose *en masse* to repel the attack, and for some weeks the controversy was carried on with great energy and determination. It can hardly be said that the discussion was productive of any permanent benefit to mankind, or that the question was conclusively settled on either side. We all know the proverb about a man convinced against his will. It is difficult to see, indeed, how either of the parties to the controversy could possibly carry conviction to the mind of the other, for they were not even agreed as to preliminaries. The lecturer represented the theory of the Necessarians, with reference to moral statistics, to be that the human will is bound by a law compelling the same number of men to commit the same number of crimes within a certain cycle. The Necessarians scouted this exposition of their doctrines, and claimed that their true theory is that the same number of men *with exactly the same characters*, and in exactly the same circumstances, will commit the same number of crimes. "And," said they, "the value of the law is this—that as we can change the characters, we can in precisely the same proportion diminish the crime." The lecturer rejoined—"The cycle, curiously enough, coincides with the period of a year, which is naturally selected by the Registrar-General for his reports." "Truly, a rare bit of wit," was the response ; "does the Professor suppose the law to be less true of a period of ten years or six months ? Some limitsfor the observation must be taken. Why not tell us that the observation curiously enough coincides with the political division called France, or curiously enough applies only to murder and suicide ?" "But," said the Professor, "these statistics tell us only the outward act ; not its inward moral character." "Did they ever profess to tell us more ?" asked the other side : "so far as history is concerned, that is all that is required." And so the controversy went on through column after column. It thus appeared that the contending parties were

about as widely at variance, both as to premises and conclusions, as they very well could be. They were not even agreed as to the real question to be decided. Such being the case, it was manifestly idle to expect that they could ever be brought into unison. The "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" tells us that much precious time is lost by long arguments on special points between persons who differ as to the fundamental principles upon which those points depend.

Upon the breaking out of the American Civil War, Goldwin Smith arrayed himself on the side of the Federal Government He wrote extensively on the subject in the *Daily News* and elsewhere, and did much towards enabling his countrymen to form a correct judgment as to the real merits of the struggle. He published several pamphlets bearing upon the question. In 1863 he issued a pamphlet called "Does the Bible Sanction Slavery?" in which the negro question was vigorously discussed. Another pamphlet which attracted considerable notice in its day was one "On the Morality of the Emancipation Proclamation." In 1864 he for the first time crossed the Atlantic, and spent some months in making himself acquainted with the practical working of a republic in difficulties. During his visit the Brown University, of Providence, conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.

Shortly after his return to England the episode of the Jamaica massacres occurred, and Mr. Smith took a very prominent part in the agitation which ensued thereupon. He prepared a series of lectures on Pym, Cromwell, and Pitt; lectures replete with telling allusions to the Jamaica massacres and their defenders. These he delivered before large and appreciative audiences in various cities and towns in the north of England. The proceeds were devoted to the fund for the prosecution of the ex-Governor, Eyre These lectures were very favourably received, and not long after their delivery they were published in book-form under the title of "Three English Statesmen." They have gone through several editions, and, like the "Lectures on the Study of History," have been republished in America. Mr. Smith is somewhat of a hero-worshipper, but his worship is tempered by a critical judgment which detects weaknesses in the moral armour even of those whom he mosts delights to honour. The character of Cromwell, which is so eminently calculated to lead enthusiastic natures astray, is outlined in these lectures with discrimination; and while the writer's devotion imparts fire to his periods it does

not render him blind to the shortcomings of the hero of the Commonwealth.

The volume contains some sharp and telling hits at Disraeli. The most notable occurs in the discourse on Pym, where, after describing the struggle of the patriots against the impost of ship-money, and how the freeholders of Buckinghamshire rode up to London to protect Hampden from the vengeance of the King, the lecturer asks—"Where are those four thousand freeholders now? And in the place where then our English Hampden stood, speaking for English liberty, who stands now, upholding martial law as the suspension of all law?" What wonder that the Right Honourable Benjamin characterized the lectures as the vapourings of "a wild man of the cloister, going about the country maligning men and things?"

In 1866, in consequence of injuries received in a railway accident, Mr. Smith's father began to suffer from a long and painful illness, which required the constant and watchful attendance of his son. This attendance left the latter no leisure for the preparation of his lectures, and he accordingly determined upon the resignation of his Oxford Professorship. This resolution was at once carried out, and during the succeeding eighteen months his attendance upon his father was unremitting. When, in 1868, death put an end to his father's sufferings, he found himself without occupation. The chair of English and Constitutional History in the new Cornell University, at Ithaca, in the State of New York, was pressed upon his acceptance, and after some deliberation he closed with the proposal, and shortly afterwards took up his residence at Ithaca. He presented the university with his library, and entered upon the active discharge of his official duties. In 1871 he removed to Toronto, where he has ever since resided. His professorship at Cornell being non-resident, his removal did not cause any severance of his connection with the university, and he still continues to deliver his lectures there. Shortly after his settlement in Toronto he was appointed a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto, which position he resigned a few months ago. During his residence here he has engaged in several literary and journalistic enterprises. He practically assumed the editorship of the *Canadian Monthly* in 1872, and retained the position for two years, when he resigned. He was also for some time editor of the *Nation*, a weekly journal, which ceased to appear in September last. He lately married Harriet, relict of the late Mr. W. H. Boulton, of "The Grange," Toronto, where he now resides.

Whatever opinion may be formed as to the expediency of some of the measures which Mr. Smith has seen fit to advocate during the last few years of his life, there can be no dispute as to his ability, learning, and conscientiousness of purpose. At the same time, those who contemplate his life in its entirety will have the impression constantly forced upon their minds that he has not done justice to the powers with which he is endowed. With considerable intellectual capacity, he has done little for human advancement; little to make the world wiser and better than he found it. He seems to be more disposed to fritter away his existence in the construction of impracticable theories than to put his shoulder vigorously to the wheel and keep it there. In matters political he is an erratic and unsafe guide. He takes up a speculative and immature theory, builds upon it certain far-fetched conclusions which are not warranted by the premises, and trumpets it forth to the world as though it were sanctioned by the experience and approval of ages. He is, moreover, possessed by a feverish restlessness of temperament which impels him to find fault where more happily constituted natures would smile, hope for the best, and be silent. He is singularly impatient of contradiction, and the feeblest pen can sting him into the employment of a sarcasm and invective which, but for the restraints of good-breeding, would not unfrequently degenerate into ferocity. In his writings he brings to whatever subject may engage his attention the fullness of rich and varied learning and a matchless power of language; but he works only by spasmodic fits and starts, and cannot be induced to devote himself to that steady and patient labour without which no man must expect to leave his mark upon the age in which he lives.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, C.B.

THE name of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock is one of the most illustrious in our colonial annals, and is deservedly held in grateful and affectionate remembrance by the people of Canada. By dwellers in this Upper Province especially is his name a familiar and an honoured one; for it was here that the most memorable scenes in his life were enacted, and that the greenest of his laurels were won. It was here that he achieved those deeds of valour which have been commemorated by costly monuments on both sides of the Atlantic, and which have gained for him an imperishable name upon the page of history. It was, here that, after arduous and chivalrous service in the council-chamber and in the field, he yielded up his life in his country's cause, almost with his latest breath cheering on his troops to repel the advance of an invading foe. It would be hard to over-estimate the value of his services to our forefathers, and (by consequence) to ourselves. He came to this country when not far past the hey-day of his youth. He found an army and a people divided by opposing elements of dissatisfaction; desertions from the army a matter of almost daily occurrence; public patriotism lukewarm or dead; weakness and disaffection everywhere. By the bright example of his own life, by unceasing watchfulness and vigilance, and by the exercise of a general prudence and good judgment such as were not to be expected from one of his years, he succeeded in reconciling hostile factions, and in infusing into the breasts both of the people and the army a patriotic fervour which preserved Canada from falling—at least for a time—into the hands of a grasping and formidable enemy. These constitute the chief of his claims to our regard and they are claims which we have neither the right nor the inclination to forget.

He was one of a numerous family, and was born in the parish of St. Peter-Fort, in the Island of Guernsey, on the 6th of October, 1769. The family of Brock is of Saxon origin, but had been settled in Guernsey for nearly two hundred years before

his birth, during which time successive generations had accumuted considerable property, and had become prominent among e families of the island. There was nothing to specially distinguish his boyhood from that of other men, except that he was more than ordinarily robust in constitution and frame. He attended school at Southampton for about eighteen months, after which he was sent to Rotterdam, in Holland, and placed under the charge of a French Protestant clergyman, by whom, in the course of about a twelvemonth, he was taught to read and speak the French language with considerable facility. On the 2nd of March, 1785, when he was in his sixteenth year, his family purchased for him an ensigncy in the 8th Regiment. He joined at once, and during the next five years was quartered with his regiment in various English towns. He was too young at the time of entering the army for his education to be by any means thorough; but, feeling sensible of his shortcomings, he devoted much of his spare time to study, and added considerably to his stock of knowledge. In 1790 he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and in the course of the same year obtained an independent company, and was put on half-pay. Early in 1791 he exchanged into the 49th Regiment, which he joined at Barbadoes. The regiment was shortly afterwards removed to Jamaica whither he accompanied it, and remained until 1793, when his health began to suffer from the pestilential climate, and he was compelled to return to England on sick leave. We next find him engaged in the recruiting service in England, and afterwards in the island of Jersey. On June 24th, 1795 he purchased his majority. Next year his regiment returned from Jamaica, and on the 25th of October, 1797, he purchased his lieutenant-colonelcy, and soon after became senior lieutenant-colonel of the 49th. In consequence of the unusual rapidity of his promotion he was regarded as one of the most fortunate officers in the service.

Ere long he had an opportunity of showing his mettle. The 49th formed part of the force despatched by Great Britain to Holland under Sir Ralph Abercromby, in August, 1799. Throughout this expedition young Brock distinguished himself by his judicious conduct on various occasions, and by several exhibitions of personal bravery. He was wounded, but not seriously, at the battle of Egmont-op-Zee, which was fought on the 2nd of October, in the last mentioned year. On the return of the expedition, the 49th was again quartered in Jersey until the spring of 1801, when it was despatched with the fleet for

the Baltic under the command of Sir Hyde Parker. Brock took part in the attack on Copenhagen, and at its close he went on board Lord Nelson's flag-ship, and saw the great naval hero write his well-known letter to the Crown Prince of Denmark. The 49th returned to England the same year, and in the following spring was despatched to Canada, where it took up its head-quarters at York—now Toronto. A part of the regiment was shortly afterwards placed in garrison at Fort George, under the command of the junior lieutenant-colonel. Here a plot was formed, the origin of which is a matter of some dispute. It seems tolerably clear, however, that the young officer in charge was deficient in tact, and did not understand the management of his men, whom he exasperated by a series of petty annoyances. Whatever may have been the exciting cause, the latter formed a conspiracy to imprison or murder their officer, abandon the garrison, and escape across the river into the United States. The manner of the conspirators was such as to arouse the suspicion of the officer, who wrote to Brock, at York, on the subject. Upon receiving the intelligence the latter at once betook himself to Fort George, where by the promptitude of his measures he soon discovered the whole plot, and arrested the ringleaders, who were tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and shot, at Quebec. Brock was directed to take the command at Fort George, which he did, and soon converted a moody and discontented garrison into a condition of cheerful obedience and subordination.

In the month of October, 1805, he became full colonel, and having obtained a year's leave of absence, he sailed for England. He had been desirous of making this voyage for some months past, as, apart from his natural wish to visit the home of his boyhood, he was anxious to submit to the Duke of York, who was Commander-in-Chief of the British army, a scheme for the formation of a veteran battalion for service in the Canadas. He conceived that the formation of such a battalion would have a most beneficial effect upon the spirit and discipline of the regiments quartered in Canada, where, owing to their proximity to a foreign country, and to the continual inducements held out to them by emissaries from across the lines, the troops were subjected to strong temptations to desert. Early in January he submitted his scheme, and on the 17th of that month he received His Royal Highness' thanks for the suggestion, accompanied by an assurance that it should be taken into consideration. In the early summer, owing to the threatening aspect of

affairs in the United States, and the possibility of an invasion of Canada, he determined not to take full advantage of his year's leave of absence, but to return at once to where his services might ere long be urgently needed. On the 26th of June, 1806, he bade farewell to his friends, and sailed for Quebec, He was destined never to see them again.

On the 27th September, upon the resignation of Colonel Bowes, the command of the military forces in Canada devolved upon Colonel Brock, who took up his quarters at Quebec. He erected a battery there which for some time bore his name, but which was subsequently called "The King's Battery." Upon the arrival of Sir James Craig, the Governor-General, in October, 1807, Brock was appointed to act as Brigadier, and the appointment was subsequently confirmed by the King, to date from July 2nd, 1808. In August, 1810, he was succeeded as commander at Quebec by the Baron de Rottenburg, and within a forenight thereafter Brock proceeded to the Upper Province, where he took up his quarters at Fort George, but spent a considerable part of his time at York, the capital of the Province. Meanwile the prospect across the line had grown more and more threatening, and there was constant expectation of aggressive measures on the part of the United States. The whole course of President Madison's Administration was hostile to Great Britain. That Administration had been in treaty with Bonaparte's Government for some time back; and Madison was desirous of rendering his term of office specially conspicuous by the conquest of Canada. It was sufficiently evident that war must come sooner or later. This war it was the policy of Great Britain to avoid, or at all events to postpone, as her warlike enterprises on the continent of Europe demanded all the armaments and money at her disposal. The instruction to all Canadian officials of whatsoever degree were to studiously avoid giving the Republic any good ground of offence. The military forces in the Province were very small—too small, it might be supposed, to offer any effective resistance to foreign invasion by a powerful nation. The loyalty of many Upper Canadians was matter of grave question, and the Administration of Sir James Craig was decidedly unpopular with the French Canadians in the Lower Province, who were by no means to be depended upon in the event of a struggle. Such was the position of affairs when, on the 4th of June, 1811, Brock was promoted to a Major-Generalship. On the 19th of the same month Sir James Craig embarked for England, leaving the military forces

in command of Lieutenant-General Drummond. Those forces consisted in all of 5,454 men, made up of 3,783 regular troops, 1,226 Fencibles, and 445 artillerymen. After an interregnum of nearly three months, Sir James was succeeded by Sir George Provost, who had for several years previously been Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. On the 9th of October, in consequence of Lieutenant-Governor Gore having returned to England on leave, Major-General Brock who was already in command of the troops, was appointed President and Administrator of the Government in the Upper Province. The Legislature met at York on the 4th of February, 1812. The session was opened by an address from President Brock, in which the existing state of affairs in the Province was explained, and assurance was given of support from England in the event of war with the United States.

During the previous month of December, Brock had received a letter from an official at the Horse Guards, Whitehall, dated October 17th, in which was signified the Duke of York's willingness to accede to Brock's oft-repeated request for active employment in Europe. The Governor-General was authorized to instal some other competent officer in his place, and Major-General Sheaffe was suggested as a proper successor. A message of President Madison to Congress about this time, however, made it evident that war with the United States could not much longer be averted, and Brock had no disposition to go to Europe to find that employment which would soon be ready for him in Canada. Ever since his arrival in the Upper Province, he had been making such preparations for a crisis as circumstances admitted of, and his vigorous measures were not diminished after the contents of this proclamation became known to him. He placed the Province in as complete a state of defence as the limited means at his disposal rendered possible; but his regular force in all did not exceed 1,500 men, and with such a force he was soon to be called upon to defend a frontier 1,300 miles in length, without a single well-appointed fortress from one end of it to the other.

At last, on the 18th of June, war was declared, and high military authorities emphatically declared their opinion that there was no possibility of maintaining the country. Brock, who was at York when news of the declaration reached him, was himself compelled to regard the issue as extremely doubtful, but he was hopeful of securing the co-operation of the people, and determined at all events to oppose a bold front to the enemy. He had long de-

voted himself to the task of conciliating the people generally, and of inspiring them with a proper feeling of patriotism. The militia of the Province was now called out, and instructed to march to the frontiers—a summons which was responded to more generally than even Brock had expected, as the season of harvest was near at hand, and cynics were wont to remark that Canadian farmers cared more for the crops than for the preservation of British connection. A troop of volunteer cavalry was incorporated, and a company of young men, sons of farmers in the neighbourhood of York, came with their draught horses for the equipment of a car-brigade. An extra session of the Legislature was summoned, and after a short conference that body adjourned until the 27th of July. Brock hastened over to Fort George, where he awaited instructions from the Governor-General, Sir George Prevost. With regard to remote districts, however he rightly conceived that delay might be dangerous, and he despatched intelligence of the declaration of war to Captain Roberts, who was stationed at Fort St. Joseph with a detachment of the 10th Royal Veterans. He instructed that officer to summon to his aid all the Indians he could induce to join him, and to attack Fort Michillimackinack if he could see any reasonable prospect of reducing it. The presence of Brock himself was required on the Niagara frontier, where the American regulars and militia made a daily parade of their forces on the eastern side of the river. Brock could easily have demolished the American Fort Niagara, on the shore opposite to Fort George, but was averse to taking so decided a step without specific instructions. The instructions were somewhat slow in arriving, and when they finally arrived they were not very specific. Their effect was to invest Brock with power to act according to his discretion, but a good deal was said about the expediency of forbearance until hostilities should be more decidedly marked.

On the 12th of July hostilities were commenced by the American Brigadier-General Hull, who, with a force of 2,500 men, crossed the Detroit River at Sandwich. He unfurled the American standard, and put forth a pretentious and extravagant proclamation, asserting that he came with a force sufficient to look down all opposition, which force was but the vanguard of another much greater. From Sandwich he contemplated an advance upon Amherstburg—called by the Americans Fort Malden—where there was a very small force, altogether insufficient to oppose any prolonged resistance to such an

army as Hull had at his back. The American General, however, showed himself incapable of taking advantage of his position, and remained for several days inactive. The results of his inactivity will soon be apparent. Intelligence of this western invasion did not reach Gen. Brock until the 20th of the month—eight days after it had taken place. The Legislature, as we have seen, was to assemble at York on the 27th, and as his presence was necessary there, his going westward in person was for the present out of the question. He issued a counter-proclamation, and despatched Colonel Proctor, of the 41st Regiment, to Amherstburg, with re-inforcements. He then hurried over to York, where, on the 29th, he received intelligence of the surrender to Captain Roberts of Fort Michillimackinack. The surrender was an important event, as it inspired the wavering Indians there with unbounded faith in the complete ultimate triumph of the British arms, and determined them to espouse the King's side. They forthwith began to pour into Canada, and to harass the rear and flanks of the invading American army. Hull was much dispirited when news of this affair reached him at Detroit, and from that moment his courage and judgment seem to have in a great measure deserted him. As soon as the public business could be despatched, Brock prepared to march westward at the head of about two hundred volunteers, and with what force he could get together, to drive the invaders from Canadian soil. Not often has an equally formidable enterprise been conducted under more discouraging circumstances. Apart from the insufficiency of his military force, he was without provision, clothing, and money. It is under such contingencies as these that character displays itself. By dint of his unconquerable energy he contrived to raise supplies through a number of gentlemen who formed themselves into a company called "The Niagara and Queenston Association," and issued bills for several thousand pounds. These bills passed current among the people as bank notes, and were afterwards redeemed by the Government. Having thus provided himself with "the sinews of war," Brock left York on the 6th of August, picked up what regulars and militia he could by the way, at Long Point and elsewhere, and reached Amherstburg a little before midnight on the 13th. He found no Hull there to meet him. That officer, who had sustained three defeats in as many petty skirmishes, and who had been harassed beyond endurance by the Indians, had become much less blood-thirsty than he had

been at the date of the issue of his proclamation, and five days before Brock's arrival he had made the best of his way back into Michigan. A further reverse had befallen the American arms within the last few days. A certain Major Van Horne had been sent from Detroit with despatches from General Hull, accompanied by a detachment of 200 men, to meet another detatchment at the River Raisin with a convoy of provisions for Hull's army. Seventy Indians, devoted to the British, and under the command of the redoubtable Tecumseh, surprised this body near Brownstown, killed a good many, chased the rest a distance of seven miles, and captured General Hull's despatches. These despatches were placed in General Brock's hands immediately upon his arrival at Amherstburg. They were couched in a very despondent tone, induced partly by the reverses sustained by the Americans, and partly by a spirit of disaffection which had begun to manifest itself among Hull's troops. The latter's lack of spirit was so apparent that Brock determined upon crossing the river and striking a decisive blow by the capture of Detroit before the enemy could receive reinforcements.

The part played in this war by the dauntless Tecumseh, will be related in the sketch devoted to the life of that hero, to be included in the present work. On the night of Brock's arrival at Amherstburg these two great warriors were for the first time brought into personal contact. On account of the lateness of the hour the interview was very brief, and their conversation was hampered by Tecumseh's very imperfect knowledge of English, but it lasted long enough to enable each of them to take a pretty accurate measure of the other. It was impossible, indeed, for any one of average intelligence to be five minutes in Tecumseh's presence without realizing the fact that he was a very extraordinary man. Upon being ushered into Brock's presence, he stepped lightly forward and shook his host cordially by the hand. The latter subsequently admitted that, as the lithe and finely-proportioned figure stood there, with the fire of genius and enthusiasm flashing from his lustrous eyes, he himself felt that he was in the presence of one who, in natural endowments, was the superior of any man he had ever met. Captain Clegg, the aide-de-camp, was present at the interview, and has left the following description of the great Shawnee:—"His appearance was very prepossessing; his figure light and finely formed; his age I imagine to be about five-and-thirty; in height, five feet nine or ten inches; his

complexion light copper; countenance oval, with bright hazel eyes beaming cheerfulness, energy and decision. Three small silver crowns or coronets were suspended from the lower cartilage of his aquline nose; and a large silver medallion of George III., which I believe his ancestor had received from Lord Dorchester, was attached to a mixed coloured wampum string, and hung round his neck. His dress consisted of a plain, neat uniform, trimmed deer-skin jacket, with long trousers of the same material, the seams of both being,covered with neatly cut fringe. He had on his feet leather moccasins, ornamented with work made from dyed quills of the porcupine." After a brief consultation it was agreed that a council should be held on the following morning, and the dusky warrior withdrew to his own quarters. Next day the council was held, and Tecumseh made his appearance with nearly a thousand Indians at his back. General Brock made a short speech in which he communicated his intention to make an attack on Fort Detroit. The Indians approved of his resolution, and expressed their readiness to shed their last drop of blood in the King's service. General Brock's own officers, however, with the single exception of Colonel Nichol, were averse to the measure, and tried to dissuade him from crossing the river. Tecumseh, at the General's request, sketched a rough plan of Detroit and its neighbourhood on a piece of bark, and pointed out what in his opinion was the most feasible method of attacking the enemy. Brock saw at once that Tecumseh's opinion as to the feasibility of attack was worth more than the combined wisdom of his white officers, to whom he turned and quietly remarked:—"Gentlemen, I have decided on crossing; and, instead of any further advice, I entreat you to give me your cordial and hearty support."

On the 15th, a flag was despatched by General Brock to the American commander at Detroit, accompanied by a summons demanding the immediate surrender of the fort. After a delay of two hours, General Hull's reply came back, refusing to make the surrender, and expressing his readiness to oppose any force which might be sent against him. The temerity of Brock's demand must have astonished the American General, who was backed by a force of 2,500 men; whereas Brock's force consisted of little more than half that number, and was chiefly made up of Indians and raw Canadian recruits. Brock's conduct on this occasion has been pronounced desperate and unwise, but the contingency was one calling for strong measures,

and he had great confidence in the judgment and fighting qualities of Tecumseh. As events turned out, his bold stroke was the salvation of Canada. Had he shown any vacillation or delay, reinforcements would have arrived for Hull, and resistance would have involved a great and useless sacrifice of life.

At daybreak on the morning of Sunday, the 16th, Brock, with 330 regulars and 400 militia, and with five small pieces of artillery, crossed the river in boats, and landed at Spring Wells, several miles below Detroit. A march against the fort was at once commenced. The Indians had been sent over during the previous night, and now moved through the woods, covering the left flank of the advancing troops; the right flank, resting on the river, being protected by the Queen Charlotte vessel of war. A brisk fire was commenced from the battery on the Canadian side of the river, opposite the fort. While the various columns having arrived within a mile of the point of attack, were preparing for assault, a flag of truce borne by young Captain Hull, a son of the General, was seen advancing from the fort. The siege was at an end before it could fairly be said to have commenced. The fort was surrendered without resistance, and without the sacrifice of a single drop of British blood. A few Americans were killed by the canonading from the battery on the opposite bank of the river. Articles of capitulation were signed, whereby the American troops became prisoners of war, and all public stores, arms and documents were given up to the British. Hull and his suite were sent down to Montreal as prisoners of war, whtiher they arrived on the morning of Sunday the 6th of September. It is gratifying to learn from a Montreal newspaper of the time, that the American General "bore his misfortunes with philosophical resignation." Four days afterwards he was released on parole, and set out for the United States. He was subsequently tried by court-martial and found guilty of "cowardice, neglect of duty and unofficer-like conduct. He was sentenced "to be shot dead, and his name to be struck from the rolls of the army." The latter part of the sentence was carried out on the 25th of April, 1814, but President Madison granted him his life, and he retired to his farm at West Newton, Massachusetts, where the rest of his days were spent. He always maintained that he had done right in surrendering Detroit,, and that he had thereby prevented a useless effusion of blood. He reiterated his assertion on his death-bed in November, 1825. There

can be no doubt that he was guilty of a grave error of judgment, but a good deal has been written in extenuation of his conduct, and he has probably been made answerable for faults which were more attributable to the Administration than to himself.

The capture of Detroit relieved Canadians from all present fears of a western invasion. General Brock having issued a pacific proclamation to the people of Michigan, left the captured fort in charge of Colonel Proctor, and started for the east, where an invasion might at any time be expected. When *en route* he learned, much to his mortification, that an armistice had been concluded between Sir George Prevost and General Dearborn, the American Commander-in-Chief. This armistice, which caused a delay of nearly a fortnight, prevented General Brock from carrying out a projeot which he had formed for an immediate attack upon the American naval arsenal at Sackett's Harbour. There is fair reason for believing that such an attack at that time would have been completely successful, as the Americans were ill-prepared for such a contingency, and were badly discouraged by the fall of Detroit. Regret, however, was useless, and Brock pushed on to Fort George, and from thence to York, where he arrived on the 27th. The people received himith great enthusiasm, and hailed him as the saviour of Canada. The Americans, themselves did justice to his vigilance and valour. To quote from one of their historians :—"In the short space of nineteen days he had met the Legislature, arranged the public affairs of the Province, travelled about three hundred miles to confront the invaders, and returned the possessor of that invader's whole army and a vast territory about equal in area to Upper Canada." During the succeeding six weeks, which were the last of his life, he received letters of congratulation from persons in various parts of the world, some of whom he had never seen. All expressed warm admiration of his achievements. His despatches containing particulars as to the fall of Detroit reached London on the 6th of October. Four days afterwards Earl Bathurst wrote to Sir George Prevost requesting the latter to acquaint Major-General Brock that His Royal Highness had been pleased to appoint him an extra Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath. The intelligence never reached him. Long before the letter containing it had arrived in Canada he had gone where knighthoods and honourable dignities are not, and where the integrity and purity of a man's life are of more avail than any Order which it is the privilege of Royal Highnesses to confer.

At the time of General Brock's return from Detroit, the British force on the Niagara frontier was altogether too small to defend it efficiently in case of any bold effort on the part of the Americans. In consequence of the non-arrival of regular troops from England there were no means of adding to the force, which consisted of about 1,500 men, of whom at least one-half were Indians and militia. This little force was di tributed between Fort George, Queenston, Chippewa, and Fort Erie. The American army across the river had been steadily augmented, and early in the month of October amounted to more than 6000, of whom nearly two-thirds were regulars. This force was distributed between Fort Niagara, Lewiston, Black Rock, and Buffalo, and was under the command of Major-General Van Rensselaer. The American commander was anxious to redeem the national character, which had been lost at Detroit. and General Brock was in the daily expectation of an attack. On the 8th October the British brig Detroit, and the private. brig Caledonia, belonging to the North-western Company, arrived at the head of the Niagara River from Amherstburg, with prisoners and armaments captured from the Americans at Detroit. On the 9th, these vessels were boarded and captured while at anchor by a force under Lieutenant Elliott, of the American navy. As soon as Brock heard of this occurrence he hastened to Fort Erie, but found that it would be useless to attempt a recapture with such force as he could command, and returned to Fort George. On the 11th, the enemy assembled a large force at Lewiston, opposite Queenston, and it was evident that a crisis was approaching. Early on the morning of the 13th they crossed the river under cover of a battery, and landed in Canada. As they greatly outnumbered the few troops opposed to them they succeeded in mounting the heights and carrying the battery. Brock, who was at Fort George, heard the firing, and, mounting his horse, rode at full speed to the scene of action, accompanied by Major Glegg and Colonel McDonell. Upon reaching Queenston, the three horsemen rode up the heights, exposed to a steady fire from the American battery at Lewiston. They soon reached a redan battery, situated half way up the heights, which was manned by twelve men. Here they dismounted, and looked around to reconnoitre. A crack of musketry in their rear soon proclaimed the fact that the Americans had scaled the heights, and were close upon them. Their position was of course untenable, and not waiting to remount, they seized the bridles and led their

horses hurriedly down to the village, followed by the twelve men by whom the battery had been manned. Here Brock despatched a fleet messenger to Fort George with instructions to Major-General Sheaffe to send on reinforcements and to open fire upon Fort Niagara. While this message was being despatched, the Americans, under Captain Wool, ensconced themselves behind the deserted battery, and hoisted the stars and stripes. Brock at once determined to capture this flag and regain the battery. Placing himself at the head of Captain Williams's detachment of 100 men, he led the way to the foot of the slope, inspiriting his followers by the tones of his voice and by the reckless disregard with which he exposed himself to the fire of the enemy. At this moment the Americans were reinforced by a fresh arrival of troops, who had succeeded in scaling the heights by a private pathway. Brock rapidly advanced at the head of his men, and when he had arrived within a few yards of the battery, through a perfect hailstorm of bullets, the Americans turned and fled towards the brow of the hill. Wool, however, who, to do him justice, was a brave and gallant fellow, rallied his shrinking forces, who turned to meet the onset of the foe, just as Brock was reinforced by the arrival of two flank companies of the York volunteers, with Colonel McDonell at their head. As they advanced to drive the invaders over the heights, the breast of the gallant Brock was pierced by a musket-ball, which inflicted a mortal wound. He had just strength to call out "Push on the York Volunteers," when he fell from his horse, never to rise again. A few minutes more, and he had ceased to breathe. He was heard to murmur a request that his death might be concealed from the enemy as long as possible, and that the onset should proceed as though he were still in command. Something, too, he murmured, but too faintly for his words to be distinctly understood, about a message or token to be sent to his sister; and, with her name on his lips, the brave warrior passed away.

Thus died, at the age of forty-three years, the man who was long known far and wide as "The Hero of Upper Canada." His body was at once conveyed down the heights which he had defended so bravely to a house at Queenston, whence, in the afternoon, it was borne to the Government House at Newark, (Niagara), where it lay in state three days. On the 16th, the funeral took place, and by command of the American General salutes were fired from the batteries at Fort Niagara and

Lewiston in token of respect to the memory of a brave enemy. The dead hero was buried in a new bastion at Fort George, the erection of which he had himself superintended not long before. By his side was laid his gallant aide-de- camp, Colonel McDonell, who had succeeeded to the command upon the death of his leader, and who had fallen at the head of the York Volunteers within a few minutes afterwards. The latter was an ornament not only to the military, but to the legal profession; and though he was only twenty-five years of age at the time of his death, he had risen to the position of Attorney-General of Upper Canada. These were the only two British officers who fell at the memorable battle of Queenston Heights,

The issue of that engagement is well-known te every Canadian worthy of the name. It lasted, with several interruptions, for more than seven hours, during which time reinforcements were constantly arriving for both the contending parties. The York Volunteers stood fire like veterans. The Indians of the Six Nations, about a hundred in number, under the command of young John Brant (Abyouwaighs) did good service on our side, and proved that their warlike character had not degenerated during their residence of a quarter of a century on Canadian soil. The 49th Regiment, maddened by the loss of him who had for so many years been its ornament and its pride, fought—with the discipline of British soldiers indeed, but—with the fury of tigers, and were little disposed either to grant or receive quarter. At last, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Americans came to the conclusion that their way to glory and fame did not lie through Canada. They surrendered to Major-General Sheaffe, who had arrived on the field some hours before, and had, to the utmost of his power, supplied the place of the late commander. Terms of capitulation were agreed upon whereby the entire American force on the Canadian side of the river, including many officers and about nine hundred men, became prisoners of war, and were marched off in triumph to Fort George. In addition to the prisoners the Americans sustained a loss of about 100 killed. The whole British force engaged did not amount to much more than a thousand, of whom at least half were militia and Indians. And this is the brilliant enterprise which an American historian has pronounced to be, on the whole, a success for the American arms, and "a *chef d'œuvre* of the war."

The battle of Queenston Heights is one of which we, as Canadians, have just reason to be proud, for it was in great measure

by Canadian valour that the victory was secured to us. It is a matter of regret, however, that it could not be secured at a less cost than the death of the gallant General Brock. His biographer, in commenting upon it, says:—"The victory was complete; but it was felt by the conquerors as a poor compensation for the loss of the British chieftain, thus prematurely cut off in the pride of manhood and in the noontide of his career; while the sorrow manifested throughout both Provinces proved that those who rejoiced in the failure of this second invasion would gladly have foregone the triumph if by such means they could have regained him who rendered the heights of Queenston memorable by his fall."

General Brock was never married; but, though he left no wife or child to mourn his untimely death, his fall was lamented as a national calamity. The Canadian pulpit and press paid innumerable tributes to his worth, and the Provincial Legislature erected a lofty Tuscan monument to his memory within a few yards of the spot where he fell. Earl Bathurst, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a despatch to Sir George Prevost, wherein the sentiment is more to be commended than the grammar, wrote as follows: "His Royal Highness the Prince Regent is fully aware of the severe loss which His Majesty's service has experienced in the death of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock. This would have been sufficient to have clouded (*sic*) a victory of much greater importance. His Majesty has lost in him not only an able and meritorious officer, but one who, in the exercise of his functions of Provisional-Governor of the Province, displayed qualities admirably adapted to awe the disloyal, to reconcile the wavering, and to animate the great mass of the inhabitants against successive attempts of the enemy to invade the Province, in the last of which he unhappily fell, too prodigal of that life of which his eminent services had taught us to understand the value." The House of Commons caused a tabular monument, by Westmacott, to be erected to Sir Isaac's memory in the south transept of St. Paul's Cathedral; and, in compliance with a petition from the Upper Canadian Legislature, a tract of 12,000 acres of land in Upper Canada was granted to his four surviving brothers, together with a pension to each of them of £200 sterling a year for life.

The personal appearance of Sir Isaac was eminently soldier-like and prepossing. He was about six feet two inches in height, of fair complexion, and notwithstanding the activity of

his habits was, during his latter years, so portly as to be almost corpulent. By his soldiers and brother officers he was beloved, not less for his fine military qualities than for the uniform courtesy and kindness which marked his intercourse with them.

It may not be uninteresting to note that during General Brock's residence in this country he became attached to Miss Sophia Shaw, a daughter of the Honourable Æneas Shaw, one of the pioneers of Little York, and the great grandfather of Major George A. Shaw, now of Toronto. A marriage engagement was entered into between General Brock and Miss Shaw, the fulfilment of which was only prevented by the death of the former at Queenston Heights, as above recorded. The lady was faithful to her lover's memory, and remained single for his sake until her death, which took place at Toronto a few years since.

On the twelfth anniversary of the battle of Queenston Heights, the monument erected there by the Provincial Legislature having been nearly completed, the remains of General Brock and Colonel McDonell were removed (from the bastion where they had been interred at Fort George) to the vaults beneath the column. A great concourse of people, numbering at least 5,000, assembled from all parts of Canada and the adjacent State of New York to witness this second interment. The monument then inaugurated became a conspicuous attraction of the neighbourhood, and so remained for nearly sixteen years, when it was so disfigured by the act of a traitor and a coward as to render necessary the erection of another structure. The ruffian by whom this mutilation was effected was an Irish-Canadian, named Benjamin Lett, who had been compelled to fly from the Province on account of his participation in the rebellion of 1837-8. On Good Friday, the 17th of April, 1840, he contrived, by means of a train, to explode a quantity of gunpowder which he had introduced into the monument. The edifice was shattered and disfigured to such an extent that it was thought desirable to remove it. Of course Lett's dastardly act aroused universal indignation, and on the 30th of July following a meeting was held on the site, and resolutions were adopted for the erection of another monument. Business in Toronto, and in many other cities and towns in the Province, was totally suspended for the day. There were excursions from various points on the lakes, and the number of persons congregated on the heights was not less than 8,000. Sir George Arthur, the Lieutenant-Governor, was present and addressed

the assembly. Many veterans of the war, too, were there to pay a last tribute to the memory of the brave officer under whom they had marched in years long past. The speakers included many of the leading citizens of Canada, conspicuous among whom were the late Sir Allan MacNabb and Chief Justice Robinson. On the same day a meeting for a similar purpose was held at Montreal, and was also largely attended. By virtue of resolutions passed on that day, a Committee was appointed to carry out the project for which the meeting had been convoked. The Committee proceeded to collect subscriptions, and the new monument, due in great measure to their exertions, is a much more splendid and costly edifice than was its predecessor. It was built by voluntary subscriptions of the militia and of the Indians of Canada, supplemented by a Parliamentary grant for the laying out of the adjacent grounds. The monument was designed by Mr. W. Thomas, architect, of Toronto, and the building contract was awarded to the late Mr. J. Worthington, also of Toronto. On the 13th October, 1853, the foundation stone was laid, and the remains of the two warriors were once more re-interred. The monument, 185 feet in height, and composed of limestone quarried in the neighbourhood, was subsequently completed, and was inaugurated in 1859. Its form is that of a fluted column, standing upon a massive pedestal, and surmounted by a Corinthian capital, upon which stands a colossal statue of General Brock. The north side of the basement contains the following inscription:—

"UPPER CANADA has dedicated this monument to the memory of the late MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B., Provisional Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the Forces in this Province, whose remains are deposited in the vault beneath. Opposing the invading enemy, he fell in action near these Heights on the 13th of October, 1812, in the forty-third* year of his age, revered and lamented by the people whom he governed, and deplored by the Soverегn to whose service his life had been devoted."

The portrait which accompanies this sketch is engraved from a miniature procured from Sir Isaac's relatives in Guernsey by Dr. Hodgins, Deputy Minister of Education for Ontario. The miniature so obtained has been copied under the direction of the Education Department, and the copy now adorns the ceiling of one of the rooms in the educational museum.

* This inscription is not quite accurate. General Brock had completed his forty-third year on the 6th of October, exactly one week before his death.

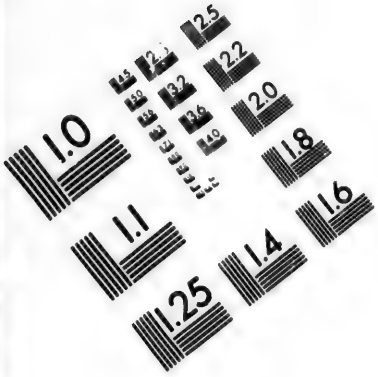
MARSHALL SPRING BIDWELL.

In the old ante-rebellion days of Upper Canada, when a Family Compact still held the reins of government, and jealously guarded every avenue to power; in the days of a venal judiciary, and a press prostituted to the will of the ruling oligarchy; when every project for the improvement of the condition of the people was trodden under foot, and when a few patriotic and enlightened men were valiantly fighting the battle which at last brought about Responsible Government, no name was more familiar in the ears of Upper Canadians than was that of the subject of this sketch. Local historians have done very inadequate justice to the part played by him in our history, and his connection with Canada terminated more than forty years ago, so that during the last two generations he has quietly passed out of public memory. Yet the name of Marshall Spring Bidwell is one which deserves to be held in perpetual remembrance by the people of this country as that of a lawyer of great learning and ability; as a legislator of singular purity of character, sincerely desirous of leaving the world better than he found it.

He was born at Stockbridge, in the State of Massachusetts, in the month of February, 1799. His father, Barnabas Bidwell, was a lawyer of considerable local eminence, who had been engaged in the active practice of his profession ever since the termination of the War of Independence. The latter rose in his profession by steady degrees, and before reaching middle age became Attorney-General of the State. He was afterwards returned as Member of Congress, and seems to have served in that capacity during at least one session. Later still, he became Treasurer of the County of Berkshire, in his native State. He was a man of high culture and attainments both in his profession and out of it, and was distinguished for courtly and agreeable manners, great powers of conversation, and a high degree of mental activity. He was an ardent Republican, and took a most pronounced stand in the national politics. His career as

a politician was somewhat stern and uncompromising, and while it secured him many warm friends it also brought down upon his head the fierce enmity of some of his opponents. During the year 1810, while he continued to be Treasurer of Berkshire County, he was charged by some of the most virulent of his enemies with certain irregularities in the discharge of his official duties. The whole truth with regard to this much-discussed affair will probably never be ascertained. The best opinion seems to be that Mr. Bidwell's enemies had determined upon his downfall, and had subtly woven a mesh round him from which exile was the only escape. An indictment was laid against him and a warrant issued for his apprehension. He was very doubtful about obtaining justice, and resolved not to stand his trial. He came over to Canada before the execution of the warrant, bringing with him his family, consisting of his son, Marshall, the subject of this sketch—who was then a lad in his twelfth year—and a daughter several years younger. They settled at the little village of Bath, on the Bay of Quintè, where the father obtained employment as a school teacher. In 1812 the elder Bidwell took the oath of allegiance, and thenceforth began to take part in the politics of his adopted country, which at that time groaned under an irresponsible executive and a multitude of evil counsellors. Upon Robert Gourlay's arrival in the country, Mr. Bidwell made his acquaintance, and rendered him valuable assistance in the preparation of his work on Canada. After spending several years at Bath, the family removed to Kingston, and soon afterwards young Marshall entered the office of Mr. Washburne as a student-at-law. The youth's father was proud of the abilities of his son, and devoted much time to the direction of his studies and the formation of his mind. The promise of the youth was fully borne out by the performance of the man. Upon the completion of his term of study he was called to the Bar, at which, notwithstanding his youth, he at once took a foremost place. His practice was by no means confined to his own neighbourhood, and his services as Counsel were sought after in important cases from all parts of the Province.

Early in life, and while yet a student, he married Miss Willcox, a young lady of great moral and social worth, belonging to a family resident in the neighbourhood of Bath. Soon after his marriage, and before his call to the Bar, he united himself with the Presbyterian Church, of which he continued to be an earnest and devoted member down to the time of his death.



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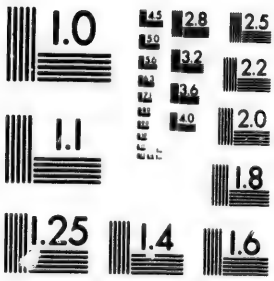

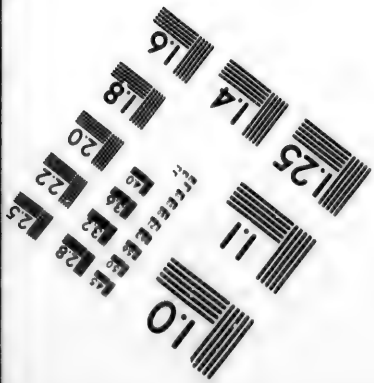

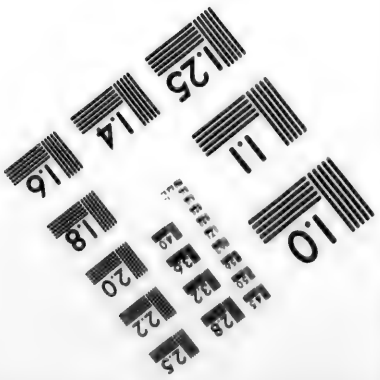

About the time of his son's call to the Bar, the elder Bidwell offered himself as a candidate for the Provincial Legislature as Representative of the United Counties of Lennox and Addington. He was returned by a triumphant majority, and the members of the Family Compact looked forward with much anxiety to the ensuing session, for Mr. Bidwell was a Reformer of the most pronounced type, and endowed with an eloquence, an aggressiveness, and a keenness in controversy not often found in Canadian Parliaments in those days. Before the House met, however, the circumstances under which he had emigrated from Massachusetts became known, and a petition was at once filed against his election on the ground that he was an alien and a fugitive from justice. Upon the opening of the session the matter came on for discussion, and Mr. Bidwell defended himself in a speech which was long remembered for its eloquence and vigour. He succeeded in convincing all whose judgments were not warped by personal and political prejudice that, so far as his flight from Massachusetts was concerned, he had been the victim of a powerful clique of enemies. The House, nevertheless, by a majority of one, decided against him on the ground of his being an alien, and as the constituency of Lenox and Addington was thus left without a representative a writ was issued for a new election there. Young Bidwell, who had by this time attained his majority, offered himself as a candidate, but his candidature was objected to on the ground that he also was an alien, and his opponent—a Mr. Clark—was accordingly returned. In 1824, however, an Act was passed whereby a continuous residence of seven years in this Province rendered a foreigner eligible to a seat in the Assembly, except in the case of a person who had held any of the principal public offices in the United States. Under this act Barnabas Bidwell was still ineligible, as he had been Attorney-General of Massachusetts, but the son's disqualification was removed, and at the next election the latter was triumphantly returned as member for Lennox and Addington. He was then twenty-five years of age. He continued to sit in the House for eleven successive years, during which period he occupied a foremost place in the ranks of the Reform Party. At the opening of the session of 1829 he was elected Speaker, and was re-elected to that position in the subsequent session of 1835.

His influence began to be felt long before the close of his first parliamentary session. While not inferior to his father in eloquence, earnestness, and genuine desire for Reform, he held

broader and more statesmanlike views than any man who then sat in the Assembly. He was, moreover, of a character so amiable, sincere and loveable that he not only aroused the enthusiasm of his coadjutors, but extorted the respect of the bitterest of his opponents. To tell at length the story of his parliamentary career would be to write the political history of Upper Canada during a period of eleven years. No man contributed more effectually to the overthrow of the Family Compact. While as zealous for Reform as was Mackenzie himself, Mr. Bidwell was no mere partisan. He took a prominent part in opposing Mr. Mackenzie's repeated expulsions from the House for reporting its proceedings and publishing libels on some of the members. Without justifying, or seeking to palliate the offence, Mr. Bidwell questioned the power of Parliament to take cognizance of it. He thought that the question of guilt and punishment belonged to the courts of law; that it was not wise or proper for members of the House, however much aggrieved by the publications, to act both as prosecutors and judges, and that the proceedings were infractions rather than vindications of parliamentary privilege. He voted against each of the expulsions. Mr. Boulton, then Attorney-General, and Mr. Hagerman, Solicitor-General, were members of the House, and the recognized leaders of the Tory party. They both voted for those expulsions. The English Ministry not only adopted Mr. Bidwell's views, but, regarding Mr. Boulton and Mr. Hagerman as responsible for those violent and ill-advised acts, signified its disapprobation by dismissing them from office.

As an instance of his moral elevation, some circumstances which occurred while he was Speaker of the Assembly, may be mentioned. During the administration of Sir John Colborne, and while the Reform party had a large majority in the House, Sir John was exhibited in effigy in the streets of Hamilton. The House appointed a committee of investigation, with power to send for persons and papers, and Mr. MacNabb (who was then a young lawyer of Hamilton) and Mr. Solicitor-General Boulton were cited to appear and be examined. They refused to answer certain questions, and having been reported to the House, were required to attend and answer for the contempt. Mr. MacNabb came first, and not exercising much discretion, was punished by actual imprisonment. But, as his party regarded him as a martyr, the event gave an impetus to his fortunes, and so it was that, instead of living, as he might have done, an obscure Hamilton lawyer, he became a member

of Parliament, and died Sir Allan MacNabb. When Mr. Solicitor-General Boulton came before the House, he understood its spirit, and so adroitly explained his offence that, after debate, it was resolved that he should be let off with a reprimand from the Speaker. It was believed, however, that this would be no slight penalty. The Solicitor-General had been a principal opponent of the elder Mr. Bidwell, had favoured his removal from the House, and the adoption of the special statute which had closed the doors of Parliament to him forever. In the language of the newspapers of the day, there was a deadly feud between the Bidwells and the Boultons. Great concern was felt on the part of Mr. Boulton's friends lest he should be roughly handled, for it was feared that the son would pay off all the father's old debts. Mark the sequel. The occasion when the Solicitor-General was brought to the bar of the House was one of great ceremony and solemnity. In the first part of the reprimand, when the Speaker was vindicating the power of Parliament, and stating that he could not forget that its power and dignity had been offended and sought to be impaired by one who was the legal adviser of the Government—an example most pernicious—Mr. Boulton appeared calm, if not indifferent; but as the Speaker proceeded, and administered the required reproof with such magnanimity and forbearance that a mere observer could not have told whether the offender was or was not a personal friend of the Speaker, Mr. Boulton, recognizing the presence of a superior mind and heart, was humbled, and finally left the House profoundly affected. The London *Times*, in publishing that reprimand, declared it to be the best paper of the kind on record. These circumstances are not without present interest as illustrating how Marshall Spring Bidwell, when charged with the performance of a great constitutional duty, could rise to the dignity of the occasion, quite above mere personal and party dissensions, and could discharge that duty in the spirit of a lofty and high-minded statesman.

The peculiar circumstances under which Mr. Bidwell ceased to reside in Canada must now be related. All readers of these pages are familiar with the leading facts in the history of the insurrection of 1837 and 1838, under the auspices of William Lyon Mackenzie. The rising was quickly suppressed, and the insurgents dispersed; bnt among the banners captured from them was one bearing the inscription, "Bidwell and the Glorious Minority." This was, in fact, an old political banner

which had been used on an earlier occasion, and had been appropriated by the insurgents; whose hasty preparation, and scanty means, compelled them to adopt and use imperfect ensigns as well as arms. Nothing could be less compatible, with Mr. Bidwell's peaceful and law-loving nature, than violent and insurrectionary measures. His reverence for law and order was part of his very being, and nothing could be more certain than his non-concurrence in the course of the revolutionary party, even had its movement been less desperate and certain of failure than it was. But he was a thorn in the flesh of Sir Francis Bond Head, who had succeeded Sir John Colborne as Governor, and the capture of the flag gave Sir Francis the opportunity he desired. He notified Mr. Bidwell of the capture; intimated the existence of letters and other evidence implicating him in the rebellion, and rendering him liable to prosecution for high treason. He further stated to Mr. Bidwell that martial law was about to be declared, and that he could not protect him from arrest; but informed him that, in consideration of his unblemished private character and high professional standing, he would not be disturbed if he saw fit to depart from Canada. Mr. Bidwell, perfectly conscious of his own absolute innocence of participation in the plans and actions of the insurgents, at the same time knew that the country was wild with wrath and excitement—that the exasperated Tories were at such a time likely to rush to quick judgments, and that he was especially obnoxious to them as one of the ablest of their constitutional adversaries. Under these circumstances he forsaw nothing but personal embarrassment, the possible ruin of some of his friends, and the total interruption, perhaps for an indefinite and ruinous period, of his peaceful and professional pursuits. He therefore accepted the Governor's proposition, and left Canada for New York, where he was at once admitted to the bar by courtesy, and where he entered upon the practice of his profession. This was in the month of January, 1838. He soon became known as an able and erudite lawyer, a dignified, refined, and accomplished gentleman; a warm, generous, and noble man. His practice at once became large and lucrative, and he devoted himself to his professional duties with industry and zeal.

Soon after this time Sir Francis Bond Head was recalled. He prorogued the Legislature, which was then (March, 1838) in session, and his disastrous administration of Upper Canadian affairs came to an end. He prepared to return to England

by way of Halifax, but upon being informed that there was a plot to assassinate him before he could embark there, he determined to return by way of New York. Upon arriving there he took up his quarters at the City Hotel, where he invited Mr. Bidwell to call upon him. The invitation was accepted, and at the interview which then took place, Sir Francis said:—"I think I ought to tell you, Mr. Bidwell, that you are the cause of my being recalled. I was instructed by the Colonial Secretary to place your name on the list of Judges of the Court of Queen's Bench, and was induced to send a remonstrance. That instruction was renewed, and, influenced by my advisers, a further remonstrance was sent. Afterwards I received notice that my successor had been appointed." Mr. Bidwell then, perhaps, calling up in review all that he had lost and suffered, said:—"You may be correct in that, sir, but I now see why it was desired that I should leave the Province. You wished to be able to say to your superiors, whom you had disobeyed, that the man they intended to honour was a rebel, and had left the country." Mr. Bidwell retired without ceremony. But as an instance of the gentleness of the man's spirit, a gentleness which could not let the sun go down upon his wrath, he had not walked more than a block from the hotel before he felt ashamed of having been in such a temper, and was inclined to return and say so to Sir Francis, and bid him a respectful farewell. It is almost consoling to know that though he cherished no resentment against Sir Francis, he finally determined not to return to the hotel.

A well-known Canadian historian, while admitting that Sir Francis Head acted dishonourably in thus forcing Mr. Bidwell into exile, in order to sustain his own conduct in not raising him to the bench, remarks, very unjustly, that there seems to have been a secret consciousness of guilt on the part of Mr. Bidwell. He adds:—"An innocent man could scarcely have pronounced a voluntary sentence of expatriation on himself, as he well knew that the guilty only had anything to dread from British law and British justice." But it should not be assumed that Mr. Bidwell tamely accepted the condition imposed as to his leaving the Province. He was under terrible constraint; an extremity having few precedents. In the interview to which the Governor had called him he was assured that martial law was about to be declared; that his actual imprisonment was inevitable. Sir Francis, in great apparent tribulation, and with tears in his eyes, assured Mr. Bidwell,

important cases in the local courts, in the Court of Errors, the Court of Appeals, and in the Supreme Court of the United States.

As a professional adviser he was pre-eminent. He was profoundly learned in the law. Chancellor Walworth said of him, what can be said of few in these days of Codes and Digests, that he was a great lawyer. "He had gone back to the sources and fountains, and had studied and mastered the principles and rules of law. He knew not only what they were, but he knew their origin, their history, and the cases in which they had become shaped, modified and determined. Nothing more delighted him than such studies. He often said that he found far more entertainment in tracing some legal principle back through the Reports of the seventeenth century than in perusing the most attractive work of fiction ever written. Not only the provisions of the leading statutes but their political and legal history were entirely familiar to him. Though he was thoroughly acquainted with every branch of his profession, including constitutional, commercial, and equity law, he had, perhaps given most attention to the law of real estate, or trusts, and of the construction of wills, and felt himself most fully at home in their discussion." His name is identified with the leading cases of this character in the New York Courts during his time, in the learned arguments of which he bore a distinguished part. His "Points" and "Briefs" were models of compact, clear, and close reasoning, and were enriched by full citations of sustaining authorities and decisions. "He argued every question on principle. He was a legal philosopher and reasoner, and was so familiar with the principles that when a case was stated to him he rarely hesitated in pronouncing the law that governed it; and his knowledge of the leading decisions was so ample that he was always prepared to marshal them to his support. He loved the law, and he practiced it not for lucre, or even for fame, but as a science of which he was an ardent votary. He regarded its majesty and sovereignty with reverence. Such was his sense of the duty of administering it in its exact integrity that had he been on the Bench he would have made little of that 'bad law' which is said to spring from 'hard cases,' for he could no more pervert or warp or misrepresent the law than a mathematician could pervert or warp or misrepresent a mathematical demonstration. When on an argument he cited an authority, the Court had no occasion to examine as to the correctness of its presentation. He was

whom he called his friend, that he would not be able to protect him; and that his safety depended upon his departure from the Province. At that time the popular excitement and turmoil were very great, and the extent of the rising throughout the Provinces, and its probable duration, could not be known. However free Mr. Bidwell may have been from all taint of complicity in the rebellion, the imminence of martial law, and the prospect of indefinite imprisonment, might have been sufficient to appal the stoutest heart. A consciousness of innocence, with no hope of being heard in declaring it until after long deprivation and suffering, would not have given the most sanguine man much strength. It has been believed, and, perhaps justly, in view of Sir Francis's character, and of strictures published by him in England unfriendly to Mr. Bidwell, that the consent thus wrung from the latter was not unwisely given.

After the first shock of the rebellion was over, his return to Canada was earnestly desired by many of its best and most prominent citizens, and he received assurances of the welcome and preferment which would await his coming. Later on the accession to power of the Reform Party a seat on the judicial bench was offered to him. As his return to this country, however, was necessarily a condition precedent to the actual making of the appointment, he felt himself compelled to decline the proffered honour. He had already found abundant professional occupation and social sympathies in his new home, where he determined to remain; though his interest in the home and friends of his earlier life never failed, and his friendships and intercourse with them continued to the end. The thirty-four years of his residence in New York were a period of unbroken, active, distinguished professional labour and usefulness, and at the same time of devoted service in the great religious and charitable institutions with which he was connected. Prominent among the latter were the American Bible Society, of which he was a Director, and the Bank for Savings, of which he was President. The first case of importance in the Courts in which he was concerned, after his arrival in New York, was that of James Fenimore Cooper, the well-known novelist, against William L. Stone, for libel, founded on criticisms by the defendant on certain literary labours of the plaintiff. Mr. Bidwell conducted the defence with ability so distinguished as to place him at once in the front rank of the New York Bar. From that time forward he was engaged in very many most

wholly incapable of giving any colouring to a decision which he cited, other than that which it properly bore. He was a wise and sagacious counsellor, and possessed largely the gift of strong common sense. He had great vigour and clearness of mind, a strong sense of equity, and his whole life was marked by a purity and truth that knew no shadow of change. His reading beyond his professional studies was very large and varied, and his conversation was illuminated and made charming by his familiarity with science and polite literature. One of his professional associates has left on record that, during a daily intercourse of thirty-four years, passed amid the trying cares and worry and annoyances of active practice, he never heard from Mr. Bidwell one syllable of petulance, impatience or irritability. He had unfailing and unequalled faith in the Christian religion, the beauty and purity of which he illustrated by his daily life, and he was entirely happy in his reliance on the future which it held out to him.

It was often his expressed wish, and his often uttered prayer, that he might be spared an enfeebled condition of mind or body, and a lingering death. His wish and prayer were granted. On the afternoon of the 24th of October, 1872, while in the full possession of his faculties, and in perfect health, at the close of a cheerful and varied conversation in his office with one of his associates, followed by a playful and kind remark to another person, he instantly, without a struggle or a sigh, ceased to breathe.

SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD.

In studying the annals of this country during the last half century we become acquainted with many greater names than that of Sir Francis Bond Head, but we meet with scarcely one that has been more widely known in its day and generation, or upon which the verdict of history has been more definitely and emphatically pronounced. It fell to the lot of Sir Francis to occupy a high and important position in Upper Canada at a very critical period of her history—at a period when a born statesman and a thoroughly trained diplomatist of the greatest conceivable foresight and sagacity would have found the position a sufficiently trying one. Sir Francis was endowed by nature with few or none of the qualities which go to the making of a statesman or diplomatist; and of political knowledge or training he had, at the time of his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of this Province, as little as any Englishman of decent education could possibly have. The result of an appointment made under such circumstances was disaster to the Province, and something nearly approaching ignominy to himself. As a civil administrator in a disturbed and grievance-ridden colony, he was altogether out of his proper element, and furnished a signal instance of the round peg in the square hole. His administration extended over little more than two years, but during that brief period he contrived to embroil himself with his own Executive, with the Home Government, from which he had received his appointment, and with pretty nearly every one who was desirous of promoting the cause of political liberty in Upper Canada. He also contrived to do an amount of mischief which left traces behind it for many years after he had ceased to have any control over Canadian affairs. And yet it would be most unjust to represent him as a deliberately bad or ill-intentioned man. He was simply a weak man out of his proper sphere, who—in the quasi-philosophic jargon of the present day—was unable to bring himself into harmony with his environment. Rash, inconsiderate, and fond of producing

strong effects, he was constantly doing uncommon things with an eye to theatrical display. Later in life a certain measure of wisdom came to him, but at the time of his arrival in this country he was not only destitute of political knowledge, but was absolutely without deliberate political convictions of any kind. On this subject his own words are sufficiently clear. In his "Narrative" one of the most extraordinary contributions to history in the English language—he tells us, with charming frankness, that at the time of his first entrance int Toronto, in January, 1836, he was no more connected with human politics than the horses that drew him; and he had never joined any political party; never attended a political discussion; never even voted at an election, or taken any part in one. What wonder that a man so destitute of experience should have found himself in a false position when required to satisfy the demands of such earnest, uncompromising zealots as William Lyon Mackenzie, and his following?—men who were undoubtedly in the right as to the main questions at issue, but whose natural element was opposition; who were wont to discuss politics in the spirit of hot-gospellers, and who would have been reduced to the lowest depths of despair if they had had no "grievances" to complain of.

The life of Sir Francis Head was extended considerably beyond the allotted term of threescore years and ten. Only five years have elapsed since his death, at the ripe age of eighty-two, and no record of his career has as yet been given to the world. At the time of his first arrival in this Province he had barely reached what for him was middle age, having only just completed his forty-third year. His previous life had been one of unusual activity, and he had had neither leisure nor inclination to familiarize himself with high affairs of State. He had already attained to some reputation as an author, having written several lively and interesting books, to which further reference will be made in the course of the present sketch. He was descended from an ancient and honourable family. During the early days of the Restoration one Fernando Mendeze, a learned Portugese physician, took up his abode in London, where he rose to eminence in his profession, and was installed as one of the physicians in ordinary to King Charles II. He married an English lady, and upon his death, towards the close of the century, was succeeded by his son Moses Mendez, who was an Englishman in everything but his name. In process of time the son became as English in the latter particular as he was in everything else,

for he also married an English wife, and thenceforth assumed her name instead of conferring his foreign patronymic upon her. This lady was Anna Gabriella Head, second daughter and co-heiress of a clerical baronet, the Reverend Francis Head, of the Hermitage, near the quaint old city of Rochester, in the county of Kent. Upon his marriage, Moses Mendez became Moses Head. To him succeeded his eldest son, James Roper Head, who married Miss Frances Anne Burges, daughter of Mr. George Burges, of Bath, and grand-daughter maternally of James, thirteenth Lord Summerville, in the peerage of Scotland. By this lady James Roper Head had five sons, the fourth of whom, christened Francis Bond, is the subject of this memoir,

He was born on the 1st January, 1793, at the Hermitage, where his early years were passed. He was educated at the Military Academy at Woolwich, and obtained his first commission in the Royal Engineers in 1811. He saw some active service in Spain, and was present at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. In June, 1816, he married Miss Julia Valenza Somerville (daughter of the Hon. Hugh Somerville), who still lives in the memory of a few of the oldest inhabitants of Toronto. In 1825 he was a Captain in the Corps of Engineers, on duty at Edinburgh, and while there it was proposed to him to go out to South America in charge of an association then lately formed for the working of some gold and silver mines in the provinces of Rio de la Plata. It was the first year in which such speculations were rife, and it was probably with high hopes and expectations that he set sail with his party from Falmouth. Arriving in due course of time at Buenos Ayres, accompanied by a surveyor, an assayer, and several miners from Cornwall, he lost no time in procuring the necessary means of conveyance, and pushed on to the gold mines of San Luis, and thence to the silver mines of Upsallata, beyond Mendoza, about one thousand miles from Buenos Ayres. Leaving his party at Mendoza, at the foot of the Andes, he returned on horseback across the Pampas to Buenos Ayres by himself, performing the distance in eight days. Letters which he found awaiting him at Buenos Ayres made it necessary that he should go immediately to Chili. He accordingly again crossed the Pampas, and gathering his party at Mendoza, led them across the Andes to Santiago, whence they proceeded in various directions to "prospect" the country and inspect the mines, travelling above one thousand two hundred miles. When he had concluded his report on the several mines of which he was in quest, the party re-crossed the Andes

and Captain Head again rode across the Pampas to Buenos Ayres, leaving the rest of his companions to follow him. On their arrival he dismissed some of his miners and brought the rest back with him to England. In this rapid manner he traversed about six thousand miles, living meanwhile on dried beef and water, and sleeping upon the ground. On his return home he published a narrative of his South American adventures, under the title of "Rough Notes taken during some rapid journeys across the Pampas and among the Andes." This lively and graphic narrative has far more of interest than an ordinary novel, and was eagerly devoured by all classes of readers. The rapidity with which he had scoured across the Pampas gained for him the sobriquet of "Galloping Head"—a name by which he is often referred to in the current literature of those days. From the fact that in 1827 he published a "Report on the failure of the Rio Plata Mining Association," it may be inferred that the chief success of the expedition lay in the acquisition of literary fame for its leader, and that the wealth of the mines was left for others to gain At the end of the year 1828 he obtained his majority, and retired from the military service on half-pay. In 1830 he came once more the English public as an author, with "The Life of Bruce, the Abyssinian Traveller," which appeared in the "Family Library." This he followed up in 1833 by an amusing volume, just suited for the pocket of Rhine travellers, under the title of "Bubbles from the Brunnen of Nassau, by an Old Man." During the next year (1834) he was appointed an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner for one of the Kentish districts, at a salary of £500 per annum. He seems to have devoted himself to the duties of this position with a good deal of assiduity, and to have brought about several useful and much-needed reforms. The office of a Poor Law Commissioner, indeed, was one for which he was admirably fitted. There were no broad questions of policy to be considered, and there was innumerable little details with which such minds as his love to occupy themselves. True, there were many grievances to be redressed, but the experience of several generations had fully proved them to be grievances. They were of such a nature that all the philanthropists of that age were agreed as to the just method of dealing with them. Major Head's time was fully taken up with his duties, in the discharge of which he gave abundant satisfaction. He found himself in a most congenial and by no means undignified position. Writing on this subject five years

later he says:—"Never had I been engaged in a service the duties of which so completely engrossed my mind. Rightly or wrongly, it now matters not, I fancied that, against prejudice and clamour I should eventually succeed in the noblest, and to my mind the most interesting, of all services, that of reviving the character and condition of the English labourer; and as, notwithstanding the unpopularity of the new Act, I had, thanks to the magistrates, yeomanry, and farmers of the county of Kent, carried it into effect by acclamation, the pleasure as well as the interest of the task was daily increasing." It was while he was thus occupied that, towards the close of 1835, he received from Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, the offer of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Upper Canada, as successor to General Sir John Colborne, afterwards Lord Seaton. How such an extraordinary offer came to be made is shrouded in mystery, and is one of those official secrets which will probably never be disclosed. It was an insoluble riddle to the Major himself, and has since puzzled many wiser heads than his. Whispers have been heard to the effect that the offer was due to an official mistake, and that the person for whom the appointment was intended was his kinsman, afterwards Sir Edmund Walker Head, Governor-General of Canada. It is said that at a meeting of Cabinet Ministers the question was asked, "Who *shall* we send out as Lieutenant-Governor to conciliate the discontented inhabitants of Upper Canada?" To this question it is said some one replied, "You cannot do better than send out young Head"—the person meant being Edmund Walker Head. Lord Glenelg being slightly acquainted with Major Head, the Poor Law Commissioner, and believing him to be the person meant, acted on the suggestion, and the mistake was never discovered until after the offer has been made to the gallant Major. Such is the story, for the truth of which the historian cannot vouch. If true, it certainly proves that high appointments are sometimes made with culpable want of care. The only thing certain about the whole affair is that the appointment was actually offered to, and after mature deliberation accepted by the Major.